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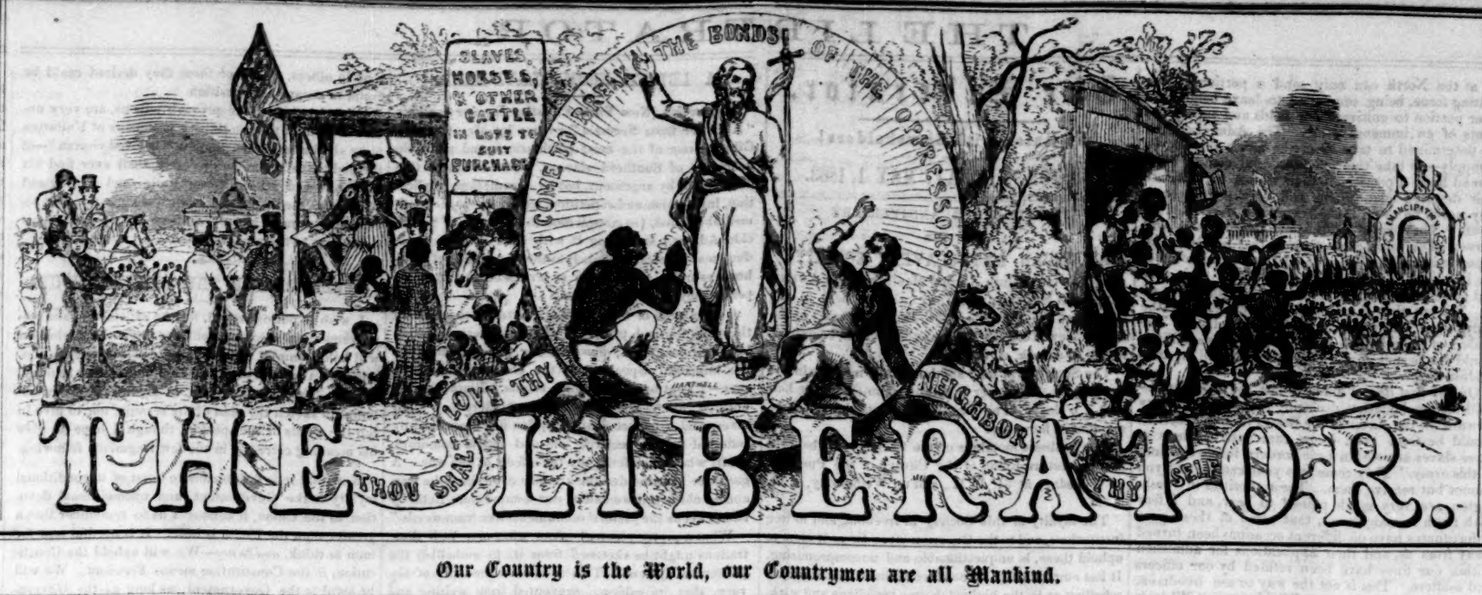
SLAVES, HORSES, & OTHER CATTLE IN LOTS TO SUIT PURCHASERS
I HAVE COME TO BREAK THE BONDS OF EVERY OPPRESSOR
THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOR AS THY SELF
THE LIBERATOR.

"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, but the COMMANDER OF THE ARMY, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES. . . . . From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war, CIVIL, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of CONGRESS extend to interference with the institution of slavery, IN EVERY WAY IN WHICH IT CAN BE INTERFERED WITH, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of States, burdened with slavery, to a foreign power. . . . It is a war power. I say it is a war power; and when your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress has power to carry on the war, and MUST CARRY IT ON, ACCORDING TO THE LAWS OF WAR; and by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions swept by the board, and MARTIAL POWER TAKES THE PLACE OF THEM. When two hostile armies are set in martial array, the commanders of both armies have power to emancipate all the slaves in the invaded territory."—J. Q. ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

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Refuge of Oppression.

A TRUE PICTURE OF ABOLITION.

BY REV. PRESIDENT LORD, D. D. OF DARTMOUTH COLLEGE.

To the Editor of the Boston Courier:

When an abolitionist justifies the now proclaimed policy of the Administration, he takes the ground that slavery is the cause of the war, and that either the government or slavery must be destroyed. But the government must not be destroyed; therefore slavery must be abolished. His first fallacy consists in a begging of the question, and his second in a deceptive substitution of terms—the government for its administration.

His adversary denies the assumption that slavery is the cause of the war any more than that law is the cause of transgression, or the money of the way-laid traveller the cause of his robbery or murder. An antecedent is not necessarily and morally a cause. He affirms, on the contrary, that abolitionism is the causative antecedent of the war, and will be fatal to the government if its destructive policy be carried on. But government must be sustained, and therefore all good citizens must think, and speak, and vote, in the exercise of their constitutional freedom, so as to secure, if that be possible, a better administration of it.

This is a very considerable issue. As things now are, it is of great consequence that the people to whom the government belongs should look well into the dispute. Otherwise, they may lose their inheritance without knowing it, and reparation may be impossible. A government, like a house, is more easily demolished than rebuilt.

Some of us, Mr. Editor, who hold no office, and publish no paper, and have no intention of doing either, have, so far, a fair claim to be heard in respect to the controversy which is now going on. Besides, we have somewhat carefully studied the abolitionists, whose doctrine the present recognized agents of the people are about to carry out in their administration of affairs. We can speak advisedly.

Our method is historical, which is best adapted to the occasion. Men may speculate about slavery and its relations indefinitely, and be no wiser. The doctors of that fashion everywhere disagree as to its origin, its nature, its design, its genius and spirit, its politics, ethics and theology, its science and literature and manners. Since this war began, we have read many ingenious discussions of the subject from learned jurists, statesmen, divines, but only to perceive how they have multiplied confusions. The writers have looked out from their respective different standpoints, and reasoned in evident subserviency to their different idols more numerous than Bacon has described, till they have bewildered themselves and—which is worse—the innocent but unconscious public. An epidemic mental disease is consequently settled upon us. We wait for some highly raised and concentrated solvent to digest all their respective varieties of wisdom before a panacea can be found. Then, however, the poor, afflicted patient may be beyond recovery.

Doubtless the only sufficient solvent of all our intellectual crudities is revelation. But we fear the patient is too far gone already, to bear a spirit raised so much above the natural. We must content ourselves with what is next best—history. That gives us the wisdom of God in his moral providence, and to know that may be of great consequence in default of more spiritual enlightenment.

We find that, before the era of abolition, this whole country enjoyed remarkable union, peace, and prosperity for half a century. Its general officers were chosen with reference to no sectional peculiarities, but as representatives of parties indiscriminately scattered over all the States. No considerable sectional dispute arose in the Congress, but such as grew out of natural diversities of physical condition. Tariffs, internal improvements, bounties, and the like, suggested and exhausted controversy. The heat produced was hardly more than enough to produce a healthy intellectual activity, and check the bad tendencies of appropriating majorities. So far there was but little difference between Northern and Southern politicians, in the spirit with which they contended, or the expedients which they adopted. It would have been difficult, and of little consequence, in a moral point of view, to strike a balance between them. Neither the logic of statesmen, nor the craft of politicians, could have awakened dangerous personal or sectional animosities, or disturbed constitutional relations, so long as they overstepped not the limits of expediency, and affected no moral control of the public mind. Calhoun and Webster at the head, or such men as Brooks and Sumner at the tail, could never have contended greatly to the public detriment, till the Congress let in subjects of discussion that concerned more immediately the moral government of God. That was our original mistake, which some of the fathers had foreseen with fears and warnings—the common mistake of all countries, as virtue declines—of essaying, wittingly or unwittingly, to bring together what God requires us to keep asunder—the Church and the State. Till we made that blunder, the country was united, prosperous, and happy. There had been no such instance in the history of the world.

If there were, before that time, any dangerous plotters against the Government, North or South, we had no evidence of it in history. That there may have been men, on both sides, ready to take advantage of occasions to exalt themselves on the ruins of the Republic, it is not improbable, for Americans are not exceptions to the common law of selfishness and ambition. But such men could have made no figure. The Union, the Constitution and the Laws were sacred, and the country would have rejected any conspiracy against them as a healthy stomach rejects poison. Such madness could have reached no higher than to a whiskey insurrection. We were safe and honorable till the moral balance was deranged, and the Church and State fell out of their true relations to each other and to moral government.

We were tempted, almost unconsciously, into that snare by introducing a moral element—slavery—into the reckoning of politics, and thereby brought Church and State together down to that lower level. From that time our glory has departed. Our Christianity has become secular, and our secular glory has been dimmed in having lost the reflection of a more spiritual light. We have substituted speculation for faith, and our speculative discussions have been degraded into angry wranglings. We have made God and man to exchange places. His institutes and his constitutions we have interpreted by the "higher law" of our own conceits. We have converted the sovereign law-giver into a politician. We have discussed by our own standards, and determined by vote, how it is *best* for him to carry on his government of the world. We have inquired not what he has willed, and said, and done, but what it is expedient for him to will, and say, and do, according to a master, a party, or a school. We have popularized our creeds, measured principles by their utilities, men by their clothes, and God himself by his supposed subserviency to our ideas.

Let us observe the process:—The South is slaveholding. It is so constitutionally and legally. Slavery enters into the structure of its society; not a thing of accident, possibly not everywhere of preference, but an inheritance according to the common law of earth,—a providential order,—without which, in view of necessarily, that is, of naturally and statedly existing diversities of race, culture, and condition, the social state could not have been constituted at all, and "life, liberty, and happiness" would have been insecure to a civilized and Christian people who had just bought them at so great a price. Slavery was not, indeed, the corner-stone, but the practical condition of the Union, the Constitution, and the Laws. Whatever disadvantages were admitted to attend it, like all other institutions administered by men, it was held to be legitimate. It had existed in the usages of nations, for the ends of social conservatism and of moral government, since Cain was stigmatized and made a fugitive and vagabond on the earth, and Ham was consigned, in one line of his descendants, to the rule of Shem and Japheth. It was common law. It was incorporated into the civil institutes of Moses. It was recognized accordingly by Christ and his Apostles. They regulated it by the just and benevolent precepts of the New Testament. They condemned all intermeddlers with it,—such as they predicted of the last days of the Christian dispensation,—as "Proud, knowing nothing, but doting about questions and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings, perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds and destitute of the truth," from whom all Christians, and especially the pastors of the flocks, should turn away. The fathers were not remarkably considerate of these things, but they were not ignorant of them. They accordingly held slavery to be exceptionable only in its abuses, and that, notwithstanding abuses, it should be left to the regulation of the States whose climate, soil, or other physical habitudes or conditions should lead them to retain it. It actually obtained, at the adoption of the Constitution, in all but a single State which had early favored the introduction of the new philosophy, and whose experience had found it to be unprofitable. Wherever it was subsequently abolished, its want of physical adaptation and its consequent inconveniences, not its essential wrongfulness, were mainly the reasons of its abolition. Against that, in an earlier period, Jonathan Edwards had protested, in vindication of moral government; and, to assert his Christian liberty, had bought a slave. Thoughtful men were not troubled by the thing itself, but only by its accidents. The philosophy of sentiment and romance had not then extensively infected the descendants of the Puritans. If excitable individuals among them had begun to feel the *aura* of the dawning illuminism and cosmopolitism of that period, and consequently condemned slavery by that criterion, even they were not regardless of their plighted faith. They saw no justifiable remedy for the supposed evil but in such amendments of the Constitution as are provided for in that instrument itself, or in friendly constitutional legislation, or the insensible influence of providential and moral causes, that could not be reckoned or compelled beforehand. So it stood,—an integral part of the best social edifice that had ever been reared by man, and contributing, in its own constituted order, to an unexampled prosperity. So it stood,—an occasion, indeed, of many wrongs and sufferings such as are incident to earth, but also of invaluable and otherwise impossible benefits to a degraded people, thereby brought nearer to the usages of civilized life, and, in as great proportion as our own citizens, into fellowship with the church of God.

So it stood, till a generation arose that comprehended none of these living realities, that honored not the God of the fathers, and for his everlasting word of natural and revealed religion substituted a "higher law." Among them were born the abolitionists, who are now, officially, supreme over the land. They were, at first, a small class of speculative enthusiasts, intoxicated by the airy pantheism of France and Germany, which had covertly breathed its spirit into the "glittering generalities" of the Declaration of Independence, and, by that instrument, insensibly infected the public mind. They were men of no mark or figure, inflated visionaries, mistaking their own fancies for another Gospel, which is not another, destitute of all practical concern for Church or State, and affecting only supposable or possible, undefined and indefinable, interests of humanity in general. But they were ambitious, insinuating, resolved, and reckless. Intent upon an imaginary universal restitution, before God's appointed time, by sweeping processes of what they called reform, without discrimination of time, place, age, sex, race, capacity or condition, and passionately heated at evils attending the ordained relations of social life, evils growing not out of the relations themselves, but the bad passions of our common nature—the very passions by which they were unconsciously inflamed—they affected to restore society by first destroying it, and, thenceforward, not by the renewal of individual minds according to Christianity, but by political reformations and reconstructions, according to their own speculative conceits. They aspired to a millennium not of grace, but nature; not spiritual by the power of the Holy Ghost, but Platonic, according to the impulses and sentiments of the natural mind. They put feeling in the place of conscience. They substituted a man-God for the God-man; imaginary human rights for revealed human duties; and the happiness of the creature for the glory of the Creator—a happiness consisting not in a spiritual likeness to God, as the Scripture has described, but in the multiplying of agreeable sensations, according to the baptized paganism of sophisticated schoolmen. They referred their regularities of society to restraints unnaturally laid by the family, the state, the church, for which they substituted a more refined free love, a self-determining will, and a liberty to enjoy whatever God and nature had put into their hands. Such, at least, was the spirit and genius of the idolatry which at length embodied itself in the abolitionism of the North, developing itself however, variously, according to the different temperaments, tastes, mental and moral habits, or the associations and other accidental peculiarities of the individuals who fell into its snare.

(To be concluded.)

HOW TO UNITE THE NORTH.

It is demonstrated that the Loyal Leagues cannot unite the North. What can? If the loyal leaguers are sincere in their vow of unconditional support of the Administration, they would of course support it if it abandoned the radical policy. It is plain, then, that the way to unite the North is for the Administration to return to the policy of the Crittenden resolution. This was the platform of the New York Democracy last fall, and on this the North ought to be united. This is common sense. It needs no argument. It commends itself to the reason of all sensible men. (!!)—*Journal of Commerce.*

Selections.

LECTURE BY DR. DELANEY.

THE MORAL AND SOCIAL ASPECT OF AFRICA.

A lecture by a gentleman of color is a sort of a "rare bird on the earth," and is very like a "black swan." Rare as the thing may be, however, it is not an impossibility, as Dr. Delaney, and a few other men of his blood and race, have occasionally proved, although at wide intervals of time and space. We ought not, perhaps, to be surprised at any unusual manifestation of talent in a negro. Toussaint L'Ouverture has redeemed the whole race of blacks by the magnificence of his talents and career. We do not mean to say that Dr. Delaney is a Toussaint L'Ouverture, but we do say that he is a better specimen of his race than any we, for our part, have seen before, and that he is by no means a bad lecturer.

He was not ashamed, he said, to be called a negro. If curly hair and a black face helped to make a negro, then he was a negro, and a full-blooded one at that. He had no need to be ashamed of his type or origin. He has a good head and intelligent face—just the kind of a head which a phrenologist would tell you a man ought to have who makes natural observations and accumulates scientific facts.

The dress which the Doctor wore on the platform was a long dark-colored robe, with curious scrolls upon the neck as a collar. He said it was the wedding dress of a Chief, and that the embroidery was insignia, and had a specific meaning well understood in African high circles. He wore it because he thought it becoming, and fitting the occasion.

He wanted to say what he knew of the negro race, not on the coast of Africa, but of the interior Africans, of whom so little is known—the Africans of the Niger Valley. The audience would be surprised to hear that even the Liberians had never until lately been ten miles beyond their territory; and so nothing could be expected from them. He was sorry to say, too, that American school-books inculcated, notwithstanding recent discoveries, very erroneous notions of the country, describing it as sandy and barren, the soil unproductive, the air full of pestilence, the vegetation poisonous, the very animals unusually ferocious. All this is more or less false, so far as the interior of Africa is concerned. He had travelled three thousand miles in the country, and had seen it in all its phases of social and moral life. The language of a people is a good sign of its civility; and the African language is derived from fixed roots; it is not a jargon, but abounds in vowels, and is very melodious, and capable of expressing a wide range of feeling and sentiment. The people speak clearly and well, without hesitation. They are very polite, and make numerous salutations on all occasions, at outgoing and in-coming, at bed-time, and in the morning at meals, and generally everywhere. The stranger must not reply to each salutation, but when he takes his leave, he makes a long salaam by bowing his head and body, and by a peculiar intonation of the voice.

The Doctor produced a grammar of the language, and made quotations from it. It was written by a native African, who had also composed numerous school-books, and made translations from the Bible.

As specimens of the moral culture of the people, he read some of the African proverbs, which, though doubtless original, have a peculiar Christian flavor. One of them ran very much after the style of the Golden Rule, thus: "He who injures another, injures himself." Another reads thus: "The sword does not know the hand of the blacksmith" (who made it.

One of the poets, whilst singing the occupations of the people, has these descriptions of them: "The day dawns; the trader takes his goods; the spinner her distaff; the soldier his shield; the hunter his bow and quiver." After giving us these and other specimens of the writing talent of the Africans, the Doctor suddenly came down on Robert Bonner, his weekly *Ledger*, who said in it, awhile ago, or allowed somebody else to say it, that the African, having no poetic faculty, is incapable of civilization. He reminded his audience of the simple and beautiful extemporaneous song which the negro woman sang over poor Mungo Park, the traveller, when he sat sorrowing by her tent door, and whom she supplied, in her womanly kindness, with milk. The truth was, that the African was naturally poetic, and expressed his feelings at all times of passion and emotion in musical and rythmical words. He read some pretty verses composed by African children, which were translated by one of our missionaries on the spot. They were certainly very simple, and at the same time very hopeful products, describing the pleasure they felt at seeing the beauty and color of certain African birds, no description of which, the Doctor said, has appeared in any book on ornithology.

Alluding to the morals of the people, he said there was a mistake about it very current in these parts and elsewhere. It was thought that because polygamy was tolerated amongst them, there must be immorality also. Polygamy was an old and venerable institution, and had a genuine Oriental origin. Solomon was the arch-polygamist of the world, and the Africans who followed his example were no worse than he. It was the rich only, however, who had many wives; the poor could not afford to keep them. But women were universally respected in Africa, and the men paid them chivalrous attention. They were not allowed to do any physical labor whatever, except to draw water; and this they insisted upon as their peculiar right and privilege. This also was an Oriental custom of immemorial usage; and was frequently alluded to in the Scriptures. He had seen seven hundred women coming out of the gates of a city in the evening, carrying water-pots on their heads, as they did in the days of Jacob. Chastity was a sacred thing amongst them, and any one violating or insulting a woman was decapitated. These bigamists had one who was mistress of the household, and had her maids of honor, who attended her, and ministered to the wants of the guests. They loved these wives better than most civilized people often do theirs. A chief who had lost his wife was asked why he did not marry again. "Because," he said, "I shall never find a woman who will love me as she did." There was no savagery in this reply, and it might readily enough have been uttered by a white man.

The betrothal of young people is made at a very early age, and when it is consummated, the maiden wears a bracelet on her arm, which is made of some inscrutable metallic substance, of which the Doctor could give no account.

An African house, belonging to a bigwig negro, was described as an immense building, the windows and doors of which opened on the inside, looking upon the court-yards. These houses often contained hundreds of women, who were called wives by courtesy, but were not so in reality; as the custom of the country required every rich man to support as many females as he could. These were daily occupied in spinning, basket-making, weaving cotton fabrics, &c., which they sold in the markets. They often went far into the country, in groups, selling provisions along with their wares, and the Doctor never heard of any of them being insulted.

From what the lecturer said, the houses of the rich were a sort of factory, where the surplus women were taught to work, and where they were protected. They supported themselves. One of these houses put our own hotels, which are, nevertheless, "some pumpkins," into a complete shadow. It is owned by a chief, and covers 1200 square feet, and built of unhewn brick. Another contains a thousand females, and is about the rival of Solomon's immense court of concubines.

Women are always admitted to council meetings. He was present at one, when the wife of a chief leaned her head on his shoulder, and made many suggestions. He thought the hint might be taken in countries a long way from Africa.

Another feature of manners was given which we thought very interesting. It was the respect which youth always had to age, no matter whether the person were rich or poor.

In these interior and remote regions, the people were ruled by a king, whom they elected themselves. Kings, and their sons and families, were all amenable to the law. Litigation begins always in the morning, and defendant's counsel has always the last speech.

Numerous examples of the industry of the Africans were given. They cultivated the lands, and made them as productive as gardens. All the staple cereals of a tropical clime were grown in abundance, and every species of fruit. They were workers in iron and other metals, and made excellent leather and glass. They were a religious people naturally; and he never met with a Pagan in all his travels.

At the close of the lecture, various specimens of native manufacture were shown to the audience.

The lecture this evening will be on the "Commercial Advantages of Africa," and will take place in the lower Hall.

PRO-SLAVERY "ETHNOLOGISTS."

The advocates of slavery, North and South, lay great stress on what they assert to be the teachings of "ethnologists" in reference to the superiority of one race of men over others, and the inferred right of the former, as they mildly term it, to "control" or to "govern" the latter, meaning thereby to hold and keep them in slavery. It is a characteristic feature of the present age, that any doctrine must at least seem to have a scientific basis—that is, that it must be based upon natural law. The first slaveholders never thought of discussing any question of right whatever in the matter, except the right of the strongest. They had the power, and that was enough. By and by, however, slavery began to need some further justification, and Theology lent her aid to its support. It was held right to hold heathens as slaves for the purpose of converting them. But this doctrine would hardly apply to the negro slave in America, whose moral condition was so vastly improved by the condition in which he was kept. So the theologians had to go to searching the Scriptures for further arguments, and they happened to light on the story of Ham, in the Old Testament, and the alleged return of Onesimus by Paul in the New, and on these they built up a beautiful structure to justify negro slavery in the nineteenth century. But even this argument is becoming worn out. It is demonstrated that Ham and the negro have no connection whatever, and any one who reads the epistle to Timothy can see that Onesimus was returned as a freedman and a brother, and not at all as a slave. Besides this, the growing moral sense of the people so revolts at slavery, that it was found that if the Bible was resorted to in its behalf, that venerable book would be apt to lose somewhat of the veneration and authority which it had hitherto possessed. Men were intelligent enough to see that the revealed word of God could not really support an institution repugnant to the cultivated moral sense of mankind; and so the Biblical theory of slavery is pretty much abandoned, except by a few octogenarians like Dr. Lord and South-side Adams, and those, who, determined to believe in slavery at any rate, will drag anything and everything into its support.

So, as we said above, the advocates of slavery are now laboring to establish it upon a basis of natural law, an ordinance of the Creator, making some races superior to others, and dooming the inferior to the perpetual dominion of the superior. They have a great deal to say about "prejudices of race" and "of color." They talk glibly about cranial developments. They tell us magisterially of the authoritative decisions of "ethnologists," as settling the entire question, and as little to be dissented from as of old was the alleged authority of the Scriptures.

This argument forms the staple of the letters of the great lights of the New York Diffusion Society, Professor Morse and George T. Curtis, who are doing all in their power to "diffuse" a spirit of acquiescence in slavery, and of conviction in its rightfulness, among the people. They say "it is a physical condition which God has ordained," and of course do not fail to seek to terrify weak minds by insisting on the "sinfulness" of opposing a divine law. They talk about ethnologists' decisions, though who these ethnologists are, or what their authority is, or how far this class of investigators are agreed among themselves, they do not condescend to inform us. But the conclusion they arrive at is, that two races, one superior and the other inferior, cannot dwell in the same country without one "governing" the other; *ergo*, the negro in America is rightfully held as a slave, and always must be.

It is not our purpose now to attempt to combat this argument. We would only say, that as to the question of races, "ethnologists" differ very much among themselves; and that it is a tremendous logical leap to argue that slavery, as exercised in the Southern States of America, is the kind of government which a superior race may legitimately exercise over an inferior.

A recent Richmond paper refutes all this stuff effectually, though unintentionally, by carrying it to the point of absurdity. The Richmond editor believes in the doctrine of races—but then the Southerner is the superior, and the Yankee is the inferior. Yes, even the lights of the Diffusion Society, and Dr. Lord and South-side Adams, and George Lunt, *et id genus omnes*, are of an inferior race to Letcher, and Cobb, and Floyd, and Davis, and Brooks, and not fit to associate with them. Not only this, but "ethnologists" have decided that "the admixture of an inferior with a superior race of the human species degrades the latter to the level of the former." Therefore, laws must be framed forbidding the immigration of "Yankees and other foreigners,' else "the next generation of Southerners will be the vilest mongrels."

This seems rather cruel upon Curtis, Lord & Co., but we don't see what they can do but submit. It is the verdict of "ethnologists," a "physical law," and it would be "sinful," perhaps even "infidel," to oppose it. Truly, great is the science of "ethnology," and righteous are her decisions!

We wonder somewhat that the Richmond editor expresses no apprehensions as to the results of the superior race of Southerners and the negro continuing to live intermingled. Can it be that he considers the Yankee race inferior to the negro? If this fact is satisfactorily and scientifically established, it is of course the right of the negro to "govern" Curtis, Lord & Co., and the duty of these estimable gentlemen, who have so profound a regard for "physical law," to submit without a murmur.—*New Bedford Republican Standard.*

THE GREAT MEETING OF WORKING MEN.

The great meeting of working men which was held in St. James's Hall, last week, was full of significance and importance, apart altogether from its bearing on the American question. No man, whatever his political opinions, who takes an interest in the progress and character of the working class, could have left that hall, after listening to the proceedings, without feelings of hope and pride.

There was a political meeting composed of about three thousand London working men, conducted by working men, addressed by working men, and displaying intelligence, ability, temper, and order, which would have reflected credit upon the most cultivated assembly. It was never uncommon to find working men fluent and energetic speakers. Mere physical power, personal earnestness, and perhaps even the absence of that knowledge of a subject which suggests that there are two sides to it, have supplied men of the poorer classes very often with fluency and energy of declamation. Thus, even when the working classes were least educated, the satirist made the ignorant village politician a type of vulgar and vehement declamatory power. Any one who went to the meeting in St. James's Hall, expecting to find something of this kind predominant there, must indeed have been surprised and gratified. There was an almost entire absence of declamation; there were some of the speeches which did not contain a single declamatory sentence; there did not present himself on the platform one single sponter or stump orator. It was surprising to find that, upon a question which more than almost any other invited appeals to passion and to human pity, the speakers almost invariably confined themselves to the argumentative portion of the question. There was little or no generalization; there was nothing vague; no talking for talking's sake; no grandiloquent verbiage to hide barrenness of idea or imperfect information. The working men argued the questions arising out of the American war as questions of constitutional and international law. They were as familiar with the various points of debate involved in the secession question, and the history of the American Constitution, as an educated man of the middle classes is expected to be with the common political themes of discussion belonging to his own time and country. We all know what "cram" is; and he must be little accustomed to public debate who does not at once detect, when he hears it, even the best kind of the article. There is plenty of it to be heard in the House of Commons during any great debate—on this very American question, for instance. You can hear many an honorable member gabble fluently along with an array of facts, figures, and arguments, which betray themselves as mere cram in every sentence. You can easily anticipate what the speaker is going to say next, and you have a perfect conviction that the interjection of one single judicious question would throw him out, or dumbfounder him altogether. There was nothing of this kind at the meeting in St. James's Hall. The men who spoke there thoroughly understood what they were talking about. They had digested the question fully. They knew all that was to be said in favor of each disputed position, and all that had been said against it; and they could, where opportunity offered, strengthen the former by new illustrations, and pick fresh holes in the weak places of the latter. Except that the speakers did not quote Latin, and that their language was always temperate, and their demeanor always orderly, there was nothing to distinguish the speeches delivered, from such orations as the majority of members deliver on the floor of the House of Commons.

Now, having said so much of well-deserved and unexaggerated praise regarding the intellectual and political character of this demonstration, what reflection must we naturally embody next in words? The remark, which we desire to make in all calmness—that these are just the men whom the governing classes have declared unworthy to cross even the threshold of politics. They are deemed unworthy not merely to take part in any political work, but even to have a voice in choosing the persons who are to do the political work for them. Observe how these men understand the complicated and difficult questions of American politics. Observe how they can consider and discuss them with reference to their bearing on the interests of this country. Then recollect that these men, as a class, are pronounced incapable even of judging what sort of individuals ought to speak for them at home; and let any candid and honest person say whether he is not ashamed and indignant, that a stupid and unnatural system of exclusiveness should have been allowed so long to insult a body of men who should be the pride, as they must be the strength, of any civilized country. It must not be forgotten, that the intimate acquaintance these men evince with home and foreign political questions has been acquired without the slightest personal interest, or hope of interest, in the matter. The working men, as a body, have not that inducement to study such subjects which even the recording of a vote once in two or three years might give. They are allowed to have no more direct share in the political affairs of the country than servant girls or children. What they learn of politics and contemporary history, they learn out of a pure relish and love for the subject. They have educated themselves simply for the sake of acquiring education. Can any rational person deny that the system which excludes such men from a voice in the administration of affairs is a disgrace to a country like ours, supposed to be intelligent and free? Can any one deny that, while they are thus excluded, the shame falls on those who refuse them their rights, and that the loss is that of the whole nation? The Trades Unions have not, we believe, often taken any open part in political questions But we sincerely trust that they will take such a part for the future. The time is nearly passed, when any one could be found stupid enough to advise working men to have nothing to do with politics. The time is certainly passed when working men would obey such advice. No matter how the lingering existence of class legislation may shut out such men from political affairs, it is their duty and their right to be in some way or other earnest and active politicians. That country alone is sure of progress and prosperity where every intelligent man is a politician. The working men of England may feel perfectly satisfied that the franchise is now their own whenever they choose to ask for it. No inert resistance of exclusive classes can withhold the right of Englishmen longer than they choose to allow it to be withheld. The governing classes, as they are called, might derive some valuable lessons from the St. James's Hall meeting. They might learn from the manner in which the name of Lord Palmerston was received there, that the working men of England know how little they owe to such a Minister. They might learn, too, that the working men, who have thought for themselves, and educated themselves, are able to emancipate themselves of their own power, if political emancipation be not wisely conceded in time.—*London Star.*

CASE OF THE ALABAMA.

Our legislators are scarcely entitled to carry with them to their country homes the light hearts that befit Easter holidays. There are elements of exceeding gravity in the condition of the country. The last debate before adjournment raised questions of serious difficulty and measureless importance. For the first time these twenty years, the Home Secretary has to assure the House of Commons that the peace of Lancashire is secured by the precautions taken to repress disturbance. In the most populous district of Great Britain, the contentment or forbearance of the people is held to be an insufficient guarantee of good order. On the same night, the Government is asked, entreated, almost adjured, to relieve the apprehension of war with the United States, in consequence of the equipment in our ports of vessels intended to make war upon American commerce. The case of the Alabama is, in itself, a sufficient cause of anxiety. We must not flatter ourselves that we have heard the last of that accursed barque. As the catalogue of her captures lengthens, the excitement of the American people against the Government by whose neglect she escaped to sea will naturally increase. If a demand for reparation is not made, it will be because the statesmen at the head of the Republic are guiltless of that disposition to make political capital of a cry against England, which Lord Palmerston thoughtlessly attributes to all parties in America. But if the demand should be made, how will it be met? No impartial judge can accept as a reply to such a claim the special pleading of the Solicitor General. No one acquainted with the facts, set forth in the official correspondence, can deny that they are utterly mis-stated by Lord Palmerston. Unless a better spirit than that of the noble lord should decide the counsels of the Cabinet in deliberation upon the claim we have supposed, the result might be in the last degree deplorable.

But we are less apprehensive about the past than the future. There are other vessels preparing for the same desperate work as that of the Alabama. "If those vessels get out," writes in a private letter an American whose friendship for England is only second to his love of the Union, "nothing can prevent our people making reprisals upon your commerce. That is my conviction. If you have read and properly appreciated the speeches and votes of our Congress at its last session, and the independent position in which it left the military, naval, and financial departments of the Government, you will share it. Our Government is not strong enough to stand against the popular voice as it would express itself in such an emergency, nor would it try to if it could, for the honor and dignity of the nation would be involved. Your Government, in openly tolerating the equipment of Confederate steamers, seems to be defying us to resent it, and we are too much like the race from which we are descended to stand such provocation long." These are the words of a man who deprecates, as much for his own country as ours, that drifting into war, of which both have had a sad experience. On neither side of the Atlantic is there a statesman so wickedly insensible to the horrors of an Anglo-American conflict as to deliberately accept its awful responsibilities. The most frivolous or the most depraved of mankind must shrink appalled from acts that would incur so huge a load of guilt. To the people on either side, the calamity would be incalculable and unmitigated. There would be to them neither gain nor glory to compensate in the slightest for the losses and suffering that would rapidly accumulate. To the Union, it would probably be destruction. To ourselves, it would more certainly be a famine of grain as well as of cotton. The Atlantic would be strewed with the wrecks of our commerce. A hundred privateers would infest the ocean, and prey upon the merchant navies of the two greatest maritime nations, like wolves upon flocks of sheep. Every seat of manufacture or trade would be desolated by the suspension of business. The cost of maintaining our unemployed operatives would be doubled by the rise in the price of bread, and the funds from which they are now fed would be diminished by war taxes and public loans. Destitution would then, indeed, become discontent; and, instead of abortive Staleybridge riots to compel the payment of relief in money, there would be a Lancashire insurrection against the powers and policy that had produced so vast a catastrophe. Trades-union orators would substitute for argumentative speeches in favor of American institutions fierce invective against the classes who had, they would say, for the second time within three-quarters of a century, gone to war out of hatred to democracy. Confederate prophecies of English convulsion would at length be fulfilled, and their authors would rejoice at having set at each other's throat the only two nations in the world whose love of freedom obstructed the establishment of the great Slave Republic.

The prospect is so terrible that it may seem impossible of realization. What conceivable chance is there, it may be asked, of things arriving at so dreadful an extremity? Has not Lord Palmerston declared that the Government will promply act upon any legal evidence that may be furnished of the equipment of more Alabamas? Is it not the universal interest of Englishmen, as of Americans, to refrain from stimulating the excitement already occasioned? To this last question we answer first. Peace is unfortunately not quite the universal interest. There is, in both countries, an exceptional class—and that a powerful one. When windows are broken in a riot, glaziers are so greatly in request that they might be suspected of having instigated the tumult. But there are men who get paid for breaking the laws designed to preserve the peace of nations. In two of our great towns, Liverpool and Glasgow, the building of Confederate war ships is the most lucrative employment in which capital can be engaged. It is well understood that the loan of three millions is chiefly intended for expenditure among these gentlemen. No doubt Federal money has been spent in Sheffield and Birmingham on swords, bayonets, rifles, and percussion caps. Both parties have been free to buy in our markets munitions of war, and neither complained of the other while both violated, in common with the vendors, the Queen's proclamation of neutrality. And if the Confederates had been content to smuggle into their harbors, not only cargoes but ships, no serious grievance would have arisen. But there is a wide differ-

ence in the effect upon the peace of nations between the sale of warlike stores and the equipment of privateers. The European powers had renounced for themselves this barbaric mode of warfare, had put their brand upon it, as unworthy of civilized nations. The United States had virtually acquiesced in that agreement. To this day, President Lincoln refuses to issue letters of marque. But gentlemen, like Mr. Laird, have no scruples of the kind. They see no difference between selling to a soldier citizen a rifle or sword, and equipping a sea-robber for his piratical career. The member for Birkenhead is not at all ashamed of what he has done,—and the vociferous cheers that acquitted him of conduct unbecoming an English legislator will not give weight to the words in which both the Solicitor-General and the Premier admonished Mr. Laird and his class against persistence in their lawless practices. They will not be deterred from exchanging wood and iron for Confederate gold, except by measures of positive intervention and punishment. To such measures the Government must have recourse. It must be vigilant to detect, and vigorous in repression. And the country will do well to stimulate its rulers to watchfulness and energy by unceasing protests against the acts that stain the honor of our laws, imperil our peace with America, and encourage men who are the avowed enemies of a civilization founded upon freedom.—*London Star, March 31st.*

LETTER FROM MR. CHASE.

The following is a correct copy of the letter of Mr. Chase to the Loyal National League, in response to their invitation to attend the Sumter meeting:—

"WASHINGTON, April 9, 1863.

Gentlemen,—Imperative demands on my time compel me to deny myself the gratification of attending the meeting to which you kindly invite me.

You will meet to sent words of cheer to our brave generals and soldiers in the field; to rebuke treason in our midst, giving, in the garb of peace, aid and comfort to treason in the panoply of war; to maintain inviolate the integrity of the national territory and the supremacy of the National Constitution and laws; to strengthen the hands and nerve the heart of the President for the great work to which God and the people have called him. For what worthier purposes can American citizens now assemble?

It is my fixed faith, gentlemen, that God does not mean that this American republic shall perish. We are tried as by fire, but our country will live. Notwithstanding all the violence and all the machinations of traitors and their sympathizers, on this or the other side of the Atlantic, our country will live.

And while our country lives, slavery, the chief source, and cause, and agent of our ills, will die. The friends of the Union in the South, before rebellion, predicted the destruction of slavery as a consequence of secession, if that madness should prevail. Nothing, in my judgment, is more certain than the fulfilment of these predictions. Safe in the States, before rebellion, from all Federal interference, slavery has come out from its shelter, under State constitutions and laws, to assail the national life. It will surely die, pierced by its own fangs and stings.

What matter now how it dies? Whether as a consequence or object of the war, what matter? Is this a time to split hairs of logic? To me it seems that Providence indicated clearly enough how the end of slavery must come. It comes in rebel Slave States by military order, decree or proclamation; not to be disregarded or set aside in any event as a nullity, but maintained and executed with perfect good faith to all the enfranchised; and it will come in loyal Slave States by the unconstrained action of the people and their legislatures, aided freely and generously by their brethren of the Free States. I may be mistaken in this, but if I am, another better way will be revealed.

Meantime it seems to me very necessary to say distinctly what many yet shrink from saying. The American blacks must be called into this conflict, not as cattle, not now, even, as contrabands, but as men. In the Free States, and, by the proclamation in the rebel States, they are free men. The Attorney-General, in an opinion which defies refutation, has pronounced these freemen citizens of the United States. Let, then, the example of Andrew Jackson, who did not hesitate to oppose colored regiments to British invasion, be now fearlessly followed. Let these blacks, acclimated, familiar with the country, capable of great endurance, receive suitable military organization, and do their part. We need their good will, and must make them our friends by showing ourselves their friends. We must have them for guides, for scouts, for all military service in camp or field for which they are qualified. Thus employed, from a burden they will become a support, and the hazards, privations, and labors of the white soldiers will be proportionably diminished.

Some will object, of course. There are always objectors to everything practical. Let experience dispel honest fears, and refute captious or disloyal cavil.

Above all, gentlemen, let no doubt rest on our resolution to sustain, with all our hearts and with all our means, the soldiers now in arms for the republic. Let their ranks be filled up; let their supplies be sufficient and regular; let their pay be sure. Let nothing be wanting to them which can insure activity and efficiency. Let each brave officer and man realize that his country's love attends him, and that his country's hopes hang upon him; and, inspired by this thought, let him dare and do all that is possible to be dared and done.

So, gentlemen, with the blessing of God, will we make a glorious future sure. I see it rising before me—how beautiful and grand! There is not time to speak of it now; but from all quarters of the land comes the voice of the sovereign people, rebuking faction, denouncing treason, and proclaiming the indivisible unity of the republic; and in this Heaven-inspired union of the people, for the sake of the Union, is the sure promise of that splendid hereafter.

With great respect, yours very truly,

S. P. CHASE.

Hon. George Opdyke, George Griswold, Esq., and others, Committee of the Loyal National League, New York."

In a private letter accompanying the above, Mr. Chase uses the following words, the latter of which may be adopted as a motto by every Loyal National League in the land:—

"What said the Roman orator when Catiline armed against his country:—'Let what each man thinks concerning the Republic be inscribed upon his forehead.'"

THE ARMING OF NEGROES.

SPEECH OF ADJUTANT-GENERAL THOMAS AT LAKE PROVIDENCE, LOUISIANA.

FELLOW-SOLDIERS:—Your Commanding General has so fully stated the object of my mission, that it is almost unnecessary for me to say anything to you in reference to it. Still, as I come here with full authority from the President of the United States to announce the policy which, after mature deliberation, has been determined upon by the wisdom of the nation, it is my duty to make known to you clearly and fully the features of that policy. It is a source of extreme gratification to me to come before you this day, knowing as I do full well, how glorious have been your achievements on the field of battle. No soldier can come before soldiers of tried valor, without having the deepest emotions of his soul stirred within him. These emotions I feel on the present occasion, and I beg you will listen to what I have to say as soldiers, receiving from a soldier the commands of the President of the United States.

I came from Washington clothed with the fullest power in this matter. With this power, I can act as if the President of the United States were himself present. I am directed to refer nothing to Washington, but to act promptly—what I have to do to do at once—to strike down the unworthy and to elevate the deserving.

I can only speak briefly, and cannot enter into the details of the subject at present. It may be that some of you are better acquainted with this country than I am, but all my early military life was spent in the South. I know this whole region well. I am a *Southern* man, and, if you will, born with Southern prejudices; but I am free to say that the policy I am now to announce to you, I endorse with my whole heart. You know full well—for you have been over this country—that the rebels have sent into the field all their available fighting men—every man capable of bearing arms, and you know they have kept at home all their slaves for the raising of subsistence for their armies in the field. In this way they can bring to bear against us all the strength of their so-called Confederate States, while we at the North can only send a portion of our fighting force, being compelled to leave behind another portion to cultivate our fields and supply the wants of an immense army. The Administration has determined to take from the rebels this source of supply—to take their negroes, and compel them to send back a portion of their whites to cultivate their deserted plantations, and very poor persons they would be to fill the place of the dark-hued laborer. They must do this, or their armies will starve. You know perfectly well that rebels had an opportunity offered them under the Proclamation of the President in September, to lay down their arms and come back into the Union. They failed to do it. Not but that the hearts of many men in the South were with us, and against the rebellion. The leaders of the rebellion, Jeff. Davis and his satellites, would not permit it, therefore they are still in arms against us.

On the first day of January last, the President issued his proclamation, declaring that from that day forward all the slaves in the States then in rebellion should be free. You know that vast numbers of these slaves are within your borders, inside the lines of this army. They come into your camps, and you cannot but receive them. The authorities in Washington are very much pained to hear, and I fear with truth in many cases, that some of these poor unfortunates have on different occasions been turned away from us, and their applications for admission within our lines have been refused by our officers and soldiers. This is not the way to use freedmen. The question came up in Washington, "What is best to be done with this unfortunate race?" They are coming upon us in such numbers that some provision must be made for them. You cannot send them North. You all know the prejudices of the Northern people against receiving large numbers of the colored race. Some States have passed laws forbidding them to come within their borders. At this day, in some States, persons who have brought them have been arraigned before the Courts to answer for the violation of State enactments.

Look along the river, and see the multitude of deserted plantations upon its banks. These are the places for these freedmen, where they can be self-sustaining and self-supporting. All of you will some day be on picket duty, and I charge you all if any of this unfortunate race come within your lines, that you do not turn them away, but receive them kindly and cordially. They are to be encouraged to come to us. They are to be received with open arms; they are to be fed and clothed; *they are to be armed.*

This is the policy that has been fully determined upon. I am here to say that I am authorized to raise as many regiments of blacks as I can. I am authorized to give commissions, from the highest to the lowest, and I desire those persons who are earnest in this work to take hold of it. I desire only those whose hearts are in it, and to them alone will I give commissions. I don't care who they are, or what their present rank may be. I do not hesitate to say, that all proper persons will receive commissions.

While I am authorized thus in the name of the Secretary of War, I have the fullest authority to dismiss from the army any man, be his rank what it may, whom I find maltreating the freedmen. This part of my duty I will most assuredly perform if any case comes before me. I would rather do that than give commissions, because such men are unworthy the name of soldiers.

I hope to hear that in this splendid division, as I know it to be, veterans, as Napoleon would call them—for you are veterans—I hope to hear before I leave that I shall be able to raise at least a regiment from among you. I don't want to stop at *one*, nor at *two*. I must have two at least. It is possible that I can procure four. I would like to raise, on this river, twenty regiments at least before I go back. I shall take all the women and children, and all the men unfit for our military organizations, and place them on these plantations; then take these regiments and put them in the rear. They will guard the rear effectively. Knowing the country well, and familiar with all the roads and swamps, they will be able to track out the accursed guerillas, and run them from the land. When I get regiments raised, you may sweep out into the interior with impunity. Recollect, for every regiment of blacks I raise, I raise a regiment of whites to face the foe in the field. This, fellow-soldiers, is the determined policy of the Administration. You all know, full well, when the President of the United States, though said to be slow in coming to a determination, when he once puts his foot down, it is there, and he is not going to take it up. He has put his foot down; I am here to assure you, that my official influence shall be given that he shall not raise it.

Major-General B. M. Prentiss, after the cheering had subsided which greeted his appearance, endorsed, in a forcible and eloquent speech, the policy announced by Adjutant-General Thomas, and said that, "from the time he was a prisoner, and a negro sentinel, with firm step, *beat* in front of his cell, and with firmer voice commanded silence within, he prayed God for the day of revenge, and he now thanked God that it had come." Turning to Gen. Thomas, the speaker continued: "Yes! tell the President for me, I will receive them into the lines—I will beg them to come in—*I will make them come in!* and if any officer in my command, high or low, *neglects to receive them friendly and treat them kindly, I will put them outside the lines.* (Tremendous applause.) Soldiers, when you go to your quarters, if you hear any one condemning the policy announced here today, put him down as a contemptible copperhead traitor. Call them what you please, copperheads, secesh, or traitors, they are all the same to me: *enemies of our country*, against whom I have taken a solemn oath, and called God as my witness to whip them wherever I find them."

Mr. Mitchell, a member of Congress from Indiana, next spoke, indorsing what had been said, and concluded by paying his respects to the Copperheads, and declaring that he was going home to labor to fill up the decimated ranks of the regiments before them.

Brigadier-General Alvin P. Hovey was then called out. Though a life-long Democrat, he said he fully approved of the policy of the Administration in using the negroes.

Colonel C. R. Gill, of the 29th Wisconsin, was brought out by the shouts and cries for him. He said he believed it was good for him to be here. He felt as good over it as a Methodist ever did over a love feast.

In regard to arming negroes, he felt as Aunt Hannah did at the funeral of her husband: The coffin was opened, and the friends took a departing look, after which the minister raised the lid of the coffin and asked, "Are you all satisfied?" whereupon aunt Hannah interposed as follows: "Elder Tinkham, I am *perfectly satisfied.*" He then turned to the assemblage, and inquired how many were satisfied, and was answered by a mighty YEA, swelled by thousands of voices. How many are there here who are not satisfied? A profound silence was the only reply; and turning to the General, the Colonel said: "The verdict is unanimous. When you go back, tell the President he is endorsed by the army, and that there is power in the army."

General Washburn, Colonel Dusey and Captain Cameron also spoke. The meeting broke up, giving three cheers for the policy of the Administration. General Thomas arose, and said, this was the happiest day of his life, and he should be happy to make known to the President the feeling prevailing among the troops within the sound of his voice.

The foregoing gives but a faint idea of the enthusiasm, patriotism, and outpouring of loyalty that took place on this occasion.

☞ At Helena, the new negro regiments are progressing rapidly. In three days after General Thomas left for Vicksburg, the "First Regiment of Arkansas Infantry of African descent" was filled to 800, and by this time comprises a thousand troops. The field officers are Colonel Wood, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, and Major Burson, formerly of the Indiana regiments. Colonel Wood was formerly a minister of the Baptist Church, in Southern Indiana, having been previously a British officer in the West Indies, in command of black troops. He says he knows they will make good soldiers, and he engages in the enterprise for the glory of God. He is a noble man of tried courage and capacity, and will make his new regiment one of the best in the service. Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell and Major Burson have been the persistent friends of the black man from the beginning, and are every way worthy and capable of aiding in this enterprise. The line officers are mostly privates from the ranks of other regiments, and are deserving of promotion. The new regiment will be better officered than the majority of our white regiments, by men of high character.

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 1, 1863.

TWENTY-NINTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Twenty-Ninth Annual Meeting of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held in the Church of the Puritans, (Rev. Dr. Cheever's,) in the city of New York, on TUESDAY, May 12th, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M.

The Society will hold another public meeting in the evening, in the Cooper Institute, commencing at half past 7 o'clock. The names of the speakers will be announced hereafter.

The business meetings of the Society will be held in the Lecture Room of the Church of the Puritans, on Tuesday, at 3½, P. M., and on Wednesday, at 10, A. M.

The loyalty of this Society to freedom, and to free institutions, and to the Government so far as it aims to uphold these, is unquestionable and uncompromising. It has emphatically pronounced against the Southern rebellion as in the highest degree perfidious and wicked; and, as it is now apparent to the civilized world that this rebellion is the legitimate product of slavery, and waged for no other reason, either avowed or hidden, than to give greater security and extension to that horrible system, which, by one blow, strikes down all human rights, and perpetrates every conceivable outrage upon human nature, the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY not only applauds the Proclamation of President Lincoln, whereby more than three millions of slaves were declared forever free on the first of January last, but maintains that a decree of immediate and universal emancipation is demanded by the imperilled state of the country; by fidelity of the Government to its constitutional obligations in such a fearful emergency; by the hopelessness of attempting to perpetuate the Union upon any other basis than that of homogeneous institutions and interests, and impartial liberty and exact justice for all the people; by the inevitable dissolution of the old Union because of its antagonistical elements; and, especially and above all, by the Divine command to "undo the heavy burdens, break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free." Then shall our light, as a nation, rise in obscurity, and our darkness be as the noon-day; then they that shall be of us shall build the old waste places; we shall raise up the foundations of many generations; and we shall be called, THE REPAIRERS OF THE BREACH, THE RESTORERS OF PATHS TO DWELL IN.

In behalf of the Executive Committee,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, *President.*

WENDELL PHILLIPS, CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, } *Secretaries.*

THE REV. DR. LORD.

When THEODORE D. WELD made his memorable tour through New England, in 1836, for the purpose of inducing numbers of the clergy (as well as of gifted laymen) to enter the lecturing field in advocacy of the Anti-Slavery cause, we believe he found no one more friendly in spirit to the cause, or more ready to approve his mission, than the Rev. Dr. Lord, President of Dartmouth College. That cause is and will ever remain as it was, divinely just and beneficent; but the Rev. Dr. Lord has long since undergone a thorough change of feeling and sentiment, whereby he has infamously distinguished himself as the bitterest opponent of Abolitionism, and the open defender not only of Southern slavery, but of every form of governmental despotism in all ages of the world, as in accordance with the Divine Will. At what precise period his apostacy took place, or in what manner his intellectual obscuration and moral lunacy were superinduced, we are quite ignorant; but, certain it is, that there has been no more startling evidence of the religious demoralization of the country, and especially of New England, in regard to the loathsome and horribly oppressive system of slavery, than that such a man should have been allowed, even to this hour, to stand at the head of one of our most respected collegiate institutions. No marvel that New Hampshire was so long the pliant tool and active accomplice of the Southern band of menstealers and cradle-plunderers; nor is it surprising that she is with difficulty kept from virtual rebellion at this awful crisis in the life of the nation, through the prevalence of a most venomous "copperhead" spirit in all her towns and villages. Had she been true to the cause of impartial liberty, she would long ere this have made her soil too hot for such an unblushing defender of hell-born slavery, who, in his verbal subtleties, but echoes the hateful sentiments of that tory of tories, Sir Robert Filmer, whom Algernon Sidney gibbeted for the curiosity, abhorrence and admonition of all coming generations.

In its appropriate department on our first page, we have given, this week, the first portion of an article, entitled "A True Picture of Abolition," as drawn by Dr. Lord, which first appeared in the Boston *Courier* (a most fitting vehicle) of Nov. 22, 1862, and which, previous to the late election in Connecticut, was extensively circulated in that State, in pamphlet form, by the "copperhead" party, in order to secure the election of Seymour, and, as far as possible, to give "aid and comfort" to the Southern traitors. As "certain inaccuracies and an important omission occurred in that pamphlet," the proprietors of the *Courier* have reproduced the article in a tract of sixteen pages —of course, for a most loyal purpose! We shall give the remainder of it in our next number, that our readers may judge of it, without the omission of a word.

It assumes to be "A True Picture of Abolition"; but, with characteristic unfairness, Dr. Lord deals only in vague generalities and unsupported allegations. Not a single quotation does he make from any official Anti-Slavery document; not a particle of evidence does he adduce to sustain his sweeping impeachment. If man is man, and God is God, we challenge him to prove that the American Anti-Slavery Society, through its organs or publications, has advanced principles or upheld propositions at variance with those of the Declaration of Independence, or with those recognized by the wisest and best of men in all ages of the world. Let him turn to the "Declaration of Sentiments," published by the National Anti-Slavery Convention in Philadelphia, in 1833, as the basis upon which the movement for the abolition of slavery was to be conducted, and quote therefrom for the convincement of his readers, if he thinks he can thereby make good his case as against the Abolitionists. Or, we will loan him the various Annual Reports of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and those of its auxiliaries, and he may ransack their pages to find the proofs, if he can, that the Abolitionists are the victims of a wild and fanatical spirit. But, to naked assertions like these—"Abolitionism is at fault; it is false and wrong; it destroys the ancient landmarks; it obliterates the old paths; it sunders what God has united, and unites what God has sundered; it is wrong and madness; it rejects the dictates of religion, the usages of civilized and Christian life, the claims of humanity," (! !) &c., &c., there is but this simple reply to be made:—they are just as untrue as to say that Belial is Christ, that a lie is the truth, that wrong is right; and so clear is it that this wholesale calumniator of a class every where hated and assailed by all that is vile and brutal, as well as by all that is conservative and pharisaical,—in like manner as were Jesus and his apostles,—knows that he cannot produce the evidence necessary to prove his virulent charges, that he does not make any attempt to do so. He is a falsifier on a wholesale scale; and not one of those whom he thus wickedly defames is he worthy to loose the latchet of a shoe. His associates and backers are the perjured traitors of the South—Fernando and Benjamin Wood, Vallandigham, and all of that stripe—and rowdies universally.

A LETTER FROM SLAVE-LAND.

Last week's (New York) *Christian Inquirer* contains "A Letter from Secessia," written by Mrs. Caroline Gilman, one of the most pertinacious and plausible defenders of Southern slavery. She conducts this defence not by argument, but by assumption, implication, insinuation and repetition, using the pious-sentimental method, (so conspicuous in the books of Southside Adams,) and using it with such skill as to seduce many unstable souls into the acceptance of falsehood as truth, assumption as evidence, and resolute persistency as demonstration.

One purpose of Mrs. Gilman's letter is to speak of the condition and prospects of the Unitarian church in Charleston, S. C., of which her late husband was the minister. Speaking of the church edifice, she says—"That beautiful temple stands solitary, but not uncared for. The refugee pew-holders pay their taxes, and a generous subscription has been recently collected for our colored, old and infirm communicants, who are suffering by the effects of the war. A gardener has attended the grounds ever since the war, and an old negro woman of our communion, Bella by name, keeps the pastors' monuments free from weeds."

What a pretty picture! And what nice little illustrations might be sketched from it, to embellish the patriarchal system! This is one of the evils of slavery, that its subjects, prevented from writing and speaking for themselves, are constantly exposed to have such things as these written and published about them. The slave population of Charleston, jealously guarded lest they should escape to the Federal armies, and wishing nothing better than the overthrow of the tyranny which is chaining and robbing them, are impudently represented as "suffering by the effects" of that war which gives them their only chance of freedom. The infirm colored communicants, who are forbidden by law even to learn to read the Bible, and who have been insulted, every Sunday of their lives, by the assumption of the renegade New Englander who occupied the pulpit, that God authorized their enslavement, are now spoken of as the recipients of "a generous subscription." These aged men and women, whose children have been sold away from them whenever the luxury of the cotton-lords required such aliment, and whose wages have been systematically kept back from them by fraud and force, are now shown up as receiving from "generous" masters a tithe of the earnings of one of their years. The old colored woman, "Bella by name," (slaves are not allowed the luxury of two names,) keeps the pastors' monuments free from weeds. No doubt she will continue to do so until the Yankee conquest of Charleston shall free her from that degradation, and from the pretence of willingly submitting to it; but Mrs. Gilman takes care not to tell us that Bella cannot go out of the city, nor out of her wretched hovel after dark anywhere, without a "pass" from her master. Generous souls, are they not, these Unitarian secessionists, who continue the allowance of food and clothing to the old servants whose unpaid labor enriched them! But these are also the men who openly rejoiced and triumphed in the murderous assault perpetrated by Brooks upon Sumner in the U. S. Senate chamber. These are the men who, at an earlier period, drove Samuel Hoar and his invalid daughter violently out of their city. These are the men who tried first to starve and then to kill Major Anderson, while he was doing his duty to the Government in Fort Sumter. And these, no less than their Episcopal, and Presbyterian, and Baptist and Methodist neighbors, are the men who are trying to build a new nation, with perpetual slavery, established by law as well as custom, for its basis.

I will notice one other of the insinuated falsehoods of this letter; a falsehood, the thoughtless acceptance of which by a majority of the Northern people (in the past) has gone far to produce that allowance of the continuance of slavery to which we owe our present evils. The writer says—"You may think it strange that I should write so calmly, when a proclamation hangs over us which, if followed out here, —here are thousands of slaves, would bring results at which humanity shudders."

What are these anticipated "results at which humanity shudders"? We know very well, from the language and writings, public and private, of slaveholders, that they *expect* nothing less than rape, murder and fire from their slaves, whenever these shall gain their freedom. To be sure, this expectation scarcely tallies with their equally constant claim that the slaves are happy, contented, and devotedly attached to their masters; but the slave system can be defended only by lies, and these lies, being mutually contradictory, cannot be made to hang together.

Now these terrible results, at which humanity shudders, were assumed by Mrs. Gilman to be necessary attendants upon the following out of President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. How far is this assumption verified by the terms of the Proclamation itself?

The whole scope of that document is to declare the slaves in certain rebellious States to be now, henceforward and forever free, to authorize them to act as free men under the general laws of the country, and, as one item of that freedom, to resist any assault made with intent to reënslave them. But (with a truly wonderful amount of humane consideration for the rebels against whom he was then sending forth his fleets and armies) President Lincoln adds to the decree of Freedom this limitary injunction, namely:—"and I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free, to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self defence." Nay, more! Extending his indulgence to the rebels to the extreme unwisdom of proposing a continuance of the freedmen with their former masters, (instead of coöperation with his armies *against* those rebel masters,) he proceeds to say—"And I recommend to them [the freedmen] in all cases when allowed, to labor faithfully for reasonable wages." Is it anything less than an infamous misrepresentation and libel to attribute "results at which humanity shudders" to the following out of a Proclamation like this?

If it be replied that the fearful "results" in question, however unauthorized by the terms of the Proclamation, are naturally to be expected from negroes, however faithful and attached, as soon as they are released from slavery—I answer that this also is an infamous misrepresentation and libel, disproved by the general history of negroes in the British West Indies and this country, and especially disproved by those numerous cases in our present war in which negroes have gained possession of their freedom. Notwithstanding the customary cruelties inflicted by masters *and mistresses* upon slaves, notwithstanding the numerous instances in which slaves have been killed on the spot in attempting an escape, or horribly punished when detected in the attempt, there have been *no cases*, so far as I have heard, of escaping slaves committing any outrage upon their oppressors or their families. The slaves have shown, *invariably*, an absence of vindictiveness which has surprised both their friends and their enemies. The imputation to them, therefore, of crimes like these as the necessary result of a chance to commit them with impunity, is false, base and mean beyond expression. Yet, to the use of mendacious slanders like these must every defender of slavery descend, since there are no other means of defending it. No doubt, both South-side Adams and Mrs. Gilman would prefer to gain any particular purpose which they have at heart by truth rather than by falsehood. But, if they decide to defend slavery, and make out on paper a plausible statement in its favor, they *must* lie. No other means will accomplish the work.

The letter of which I have been speaking contains the further announcement that "a gentleman who has sailed from Charleston is commissioned to secure an English Unitarian minister for our beloved church, as soon as peace is declared." It was known that, since the death of Dr. Gilman, overtures had been made before the war to several Unitarian clergymen in the North to take his place. But, though defenders of slavery have not been wanting in that sect any more than in others, no one of those they desired could be found to occupy that position.

Doubtful things, the proverb tells us, are very uncertain; but, if the pro-slavery professors of Unitarian piety shall ever return to that "beloved church"—if the god that slaveholders worship shall ever find his rites renewed within those walls—and if England shall have the distinction of furnishing a minister acceptable to such a congregation—I hope to report those facts to the readers of the *Liberator*.—C. K. W.

A SERMON FOR THE PRESENT HOUR.

I wish to put on record, for the satisfaction and improvement of a larger audience than the Melodeon will hold, some of the just and noble thoughts contained in a sermon preached in that place last Sunday, by Rev. SAMUEL JOHNSON, of Lynn. I do not attempt to sketch the plan of the sermon, nor to give in full the words of the speaker, though I hope to give his meaning correctly in the few fragments following.

Now that it is fashionable to boast of unconditional loyalty to the Government, and unconditional devotion to the Union, it behooves us to remember that a greater than the Union is here. It is needful now for men to think, *and to say*—We will uphold the Constitution, if the Constitution means Freedom. We will be loyal to the Government, as long as the Government is loyal to the Declaration of Independence.

This civil war is our second Declaration of Independence, the fulfilment of the first, and indispensable to the carrying out of its intention.

The sword, dripping with precious blood, bears unwilling witness that force is insufficient to accomplish our purpose until we make alliance with justice and righteousness.

The necessity and the duty of nations is to shape their life in accordance with their idea. The idea adopted and published to the world by this nation, at the commencement of its national life, was a just, a grand, a noble one; the purpose of the new nation was declared to be to establish justice, and to secure the blessings of liberty. We failed to do the things here named; but we continued to use the names of them, as if those things had been actually accomplished; and our habit of using great words for little things had so far demoralized us, that we continued to boast of this land as the land of freedom, while a permitted slavery was sapping the very foundations of our national life.

The Church joined with the State and the people to perpetuate this demoralization. The God which it preached was a God of dead Hebrews, not of living Americans. He was represented by the pulpit as severely punishing Korah, Dathan and Abiram, but as paying no regard to the sins of Webster, Fillmore and Buchanan. The language of religion as well as of politics perverted and reversed the truth, and helped to demoralize the nation.

In a country which would become and continue free, careful scrutiny of the Government is as important as loyalty to it. We must see to it that those who administer our national affairs are not, either wholly or partially, kindred to the men who have betrayed, and to the system which has debased us. It is ominous of evil, when we see public service withheld from Fremont and Phelps, the old representatives of justice and freedom, and from Butler and Hamilton, who are brave enough to confess themselves converted from a pro-slavery democracy.

The beneficent crisis through which we are now passing has come more through the vigor of the traitors than the virtue of the people. When slavery fired the cannon of revolt, it exploded, and burst the fetters of the slave.

The immense progress made in the year 1862 ought to dispel all doubts of the reality of our movement towards freedom. Beginning with a timid Presidential offer of compensation to such States, rebel or loyal, as might consent to enact emancipation, it ended with a Proclamation of absolute, unconditional freedom, to those millions of slaves.

The war power in the Constitution to abolish slavery was detected, long ago, by the keen eye of Patrick Henry. Its sufficiency for that purpose is implied in many clauses of that instrument. But if the doctrines of the strict constructionists were true, the Constitution would be not only useless, but a fetter; not only powerless to secure the nation's welfare in ordinary times, but a shackle holding her hands from self-defence when the traitor's dagger is aimed at her bosom.

Will it be believed by the historian that men now exist who expect and wish to go back to the Union *as it was?* There are such men, but their expectations and wishes are doomed to disappointment. The Union may mean war for many years, but it will never more mean slavery.

It has been asked by many persons—May not the President, in certain possible contingencies, retract his Proclamation, and leave to the tender mercies of the slaveholders, in States returning to their allegiance, those whom he proclaimed to be "now, henceforward and for ever free"? To this question, it is sufficient to reply that the nation, the negro and the world understood that Proclamation to be made in good faith; and that, whatever may be the President's faults, we are not authorized to expect from him an act so compounded of baseness, falsehood and folly, as the one in question.

The signs of the times now indicate further and more rapid advance, instead of apostacy and retrogression. Thomas Sims has reappeared among us, the symbol of an imperishable freedom, alike for his race and ours. Our freedom is proving itself elastic and adaptive, no mere dead machinery.

No greater impudence can be imagined than that of those among us who declare free speech to be in danger, because there have been a few instances of interference with *their* advocacy of men, and of a system, designed to destroy free speech forever. Their very complaints, printed daily in the midst of us, combined as they are with new attacks upon our dearest rights, and constant sympathy with our bitterest enemies, are the best proof of the amazing clemency and forbearance of the Government.

Emancipation has begun, and what it means is this: Our civilization cannot spare the negro. Labor now exacts its dues, long withheld. Now, the slave, instead of the master, must be paid. To-day pays the first instalment of our arrears.

The slave has always been deceived and disappointed by the Government. He knows no friend but God. We have hitherto given him no sufficient reason to trust us. Yet he waits patiently, without attempting insurrection. The slave has stood hitherto as in the hollow of God's hand, a spectator of what is doing for him and against him. The revenges of divine power, more than our invading armies, have driven slavery backward. Even now that the negro is invited to enlist in the war, he is forbidden to be an officer.

The Christ of American civilization is the slave. Only through his emancipation can she be restored. The Church has proved apostate, shrinking from the duty of the hour. May not the slave yet be the peacemaker, the ender of these strifes?

Hatred of the negro in the North is more cruel than slavery in the South. It alone stands between us and the suppression of the rebellion to-day. We must be bruised more and more severely by the mill-stone of God's retributive justice, until this vice is eradicated.

We have vain-gloriously boasted of our independence. It is time for us to learn that independence is only self-government, while liberty, higher and better, is God's government. This whole war is God's claim exacted in behalf of the slave. We shall fail or prosper in it according to the readiness, and the completeness, of our allowance of that claim.

As to the danger of foreign intervention, if the Government wish help from England, or wish to avoid hindrance from her policy, let them show the Proclamation to have been made in earnest, and carry it out to universal freedom; let them foreclose intervention against us by putting the masses of Europe on our side.

I trust that Mr. Johnson may be invited to preach in other places the admirable sermon from which these fragments are taken. It is to the honor of the 28th Congregational Society of Boston that they have always kept their pulpit free for the advocacy of civil as well as religious liberty, and of secular as well as theological reform. It is a high satisfaction to the founders of that Society to know, that when they provided a place for Theodore Parker to be heard in Boston, they commenced an institution which has steadily continued ever since, not only to give far better instruction concerning men's duties to God and to each other than was or is to be found elsewhere in the city, but to provide for the crisis that has now come upon the country by diffusing enlarged views of justice, of freedom, of civil rights and of political duties; and they may well rejoice in seeing the extension of this circle of spiritual enlargement beyond their own body, first through the constant visits of many outsiders to their Sunday services, and next through the increased liberality and spirituality of a considerable proportion of the new generation of ministers.—C. K. W.

SLAVERY IS A UNIT.

Whoever understands that slavery is the cause of this rebellion, knows very well, as a loyal or even a sane man, what is the duty and what should be the procedure of the nation in regard to that system. Slavery must die. Every one will confess it in whom to common sense is joined a desire for the triumph of good morals and popular government over a combination of corruption and despotism. Slavery must perish But how much of it? So much as is in arms, cry too many voices. Let emancipation be the punishment of revolt; for the rest, preserve the *status quo* in reward of fidelity. But such is not the utterance of discernment or statesmanship. For slavery, disguise it as we may, is a unit, with one aim and one motive for existence, and these to rule. Its supporters, bound in a more than Masonic fraternity, have differed only as to means, never as to ends. To subjugate and to hold sway—this idea possesses every slaveholder from the Ohio to the Gulf. Revolt must have a local beginning, and to South Carolina belongs the infamy of the first blow; but the spirit of treason was not limited to the Palmetto State, which neither alone conceived the perfidious conspiracy, nor backed alone by the nominal members of the Confederacy. She rebelled, be it never forgotten, because there was slavery in Maryland as well as in Georgia; in Kentucky, Delaware and Missouri, as well as in Florida, Mississippi and Texas. To the Border States incontestably is due the present war as much as to all the rest of the slaveholding alliance. Not less would this have been true, had they taken at the start a position against the rebellion. It was the moral influence of the institution in their midst that nerved the first onslaught upon the nation's life. Massachusetts did not sit in the Charleston Convention, Ohio was not found upon its benches; but Kentucky was there, and Maryland was there, speaking through Carolinian lips and voting through Carolinian ballots. These pointed the guns of Beauregard at Sumter, these beleaguered the nation's capital, and these have assisted and cannot help assisting the South in every conflict of the war. This is both in the nature of things, and in accordance with the actual conduct of the Border States ever since the war broke out. And yet we speak of their loyalty and fidelity—the very virtues to which they have and can have no pretension.

Slavery, then, is one and indivisible. Proclamations which strive to make it otherwise are delusive. Every chain must be broken, or none need be. The President acknowledged this when he urged the Border States to disappoint the hopes of the Confederacy by emancipation; yet how little penetration was wanted to see that *because* these hopes had a foundation in fact, he had an undoubted right, if it was not his sacred duty, to destroy them himself! His right, we say, if not his duty; for, as to the former, it cannot be controverted that the War Power which, for the preservation of the republic, may extinguish a cause of danger in South Carolina, can as well do so in Ohio, and as well in Kentucky and Maryland. It is not a question of the loyalty of a particular section, but whether it contains a principle, a usage, or an institution which is incompatible with the safety of the State. The War Power, consequently, is limited only to necessity of purpose in its exercise, and to a just object for its application; and in both these particulars the people have made the President sole arbiter. Likewise with him alone rests the matter of duty, which we may patiently suffer him to postpone, if we do not let him forget it. Sooner or later, if our reasoning has thus far been correct, universal emancipation will become the duty of the Commander-in-Chief. The signs of the times in Maryland, Western Virginia and Missouri, are encouraging, but they are not enough. All slave, or wholly free; all despotic, or all democratic all "corner-stone," or all Declaration! The slaveholder who as such returns to the Union, returns to rule us. Slavery does not exist because it may, but because it will. If allowed to breathe, it will secure protection for its lungs. If protected, it will grow; if it grows, it will spread; if it spreads, we are lost again. No ingenuity of compromise can take dominion from slavery without at the same time subtracting life. If emancipation be less than immediate, we cannot escape the guaranty of a fugitive law, and the flux of blood waters from the opening of such a fount.

Let us end as we began. Slavery is the cause and stay of the rebellion; it must be destroyed. It is a unit; it must perish everywhere.—W. P. G.

MASSACHUSETTS ON THE REBELLION.

In the Massachusetts House of Representatives, on Monday last, Mr. Hopkins, of Northampton, from the Committee on Federal Relations, reported the following resolves:—

Resolved, That Massachusetts reaffirms her loyalty to the Constitution and the Union of the United States of America, to the General Government, its officers and magistrates, and to all the laws, acts and proclamations by which the Government aims to preserve the national authority; and pledges to the maintenance of the same all her moral and material resources.

Resolved, Since it is the main and vital object of our national organization "to promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity," she cordially recognizes the policy, the justice and the necessity of the ultimate extinction of all those forms of tyranny and vassalage which have hitherto marred our national unity and power, and that she countenances, approves, and will ever maintain all lawful acts of the constituted authorities which recognize and contemplate this end.

Resolved, That she tenders to the President, and to the officers and men of our national forces, her grateful thanks for their untiring efforts in the cause of our country, which, being one with the cause of universal freedom and humanity, is destined, under God, and through our unflinching loyalty, to be crowned with success.

Resolved, That his Excellency the Governor be requested to forward a copy of these resolves to the President of the United States.

These resolves were adopted *nem. con.*, and subsequently engrossed, and, of course, will receive the hearty concurrence of the Senate.

☞ THE CONTINENTAL MONTHLY, for May, is received by A. Williams & Co., and presents a very attractive and instructive table of contents. Among the articles are—The Great Prairie State, by Mrs. C. M. Kirkland; A Winter in Camp, by E. G. Hammond; a continuation of Mr. Kirke's admirable Merchant's Story; A Heroine of To-Day; The Surrender of Forts Jackson and St. Philip, by F. H. Gerdon, of the Coast Survey; The Value of the Union, by William H. Muller; The Destiny of the African Race in the United States, by Rev. Dr. Stearns; The Union, by Hon. R.

DENYING SUFFRAGE EVEN TO SOLDIERS.

ANOTHER PROOF THAT THE NATION IS RUINED.

Tell the drunkard or the debauchee that he is a ruined man, and he will stare upon you with astonishment and frown upon you with indignation. So is it with this nation. She is annoyed and angry at the charge of being ruined. Nevertheless, she has been ruined for more than forty years. From the sad hour when Slavery triumphed over Freedom in the Missouri Compromise, down to the present no sadder hour, she has never ceased to be a ruined nation.

Our nation saw a fierce and mighty Rebellion spring up within her borders, and ripen into the organization of an independent government. She saw, here and there, her little Peace army, or rather armed police, betrayed into its hands; and here and there the rebels plundering her treasuries. She saw them so bold as to fire at her ships, and seize her forts, and build up fortifications over against her own. Nevertheless, (thing unheard of in the history of nations!) she did not move. Why did she not? Simply because she could not. Why could she not? Simply because she was ruined.

It is true that the news of the taking of Sumter proved that the nation was not entirely dead. This electric shock detected some lingering remains of patriotism. But that President Lincoln, though loyal and loving the right, was, nevertheless, incompetent to avail himself of the occasion, and to strike effectively for her salvation, was among the painful proofs that the nation was still ruined. In common with the nation, he was drugged and debauched by Slavery. How then could he suddenly rise up in earnest resistance to the Rebellion it had prompted? Oh, could he have then believed that the military necessities of the country would justify his summoning to his standard every slave in the land, how soon would the Rebellion have been put down! Or even had he gone no further than to summon to it, at that nick of time, the slaves of the revolted States! Are we told that the people were not yet prepared for so strong a measure? They were—and never since so well. Moreover, the measure itself would have completed the preparation—would have supplied any possible lack in it. Nothing is so mighty to convert men to the right as bravery for the right. The fearless and unhesitating leader is the one they love to follow. Had the tide in our nation's affairs been taken at the Sumter flood, it would have led her "on to fortune." But our leader lacked the courage and decision to take it. Through his timidity and indecision, it was left to subside, with but little profit having come of it. And, alas! how has her voyage since been "bound in shallows and in miseries"! The enthusiasm, kindled by the outrageous and infamous assault on Sumter, was suffered to pass away. Very soon, the people sank down into a willingness to hear demagogues and traitors prate about the Constitution. In none but a ruined nation can the people, at the very time when the life of their nation is struck at, give ear to such prating.

Does this late-in-the-day call upon the blacks to enrol themselves in our army prove that our nation is not ruined? Far from it—especially so, since the Government has not the manliness to promise to see to it that captured blacks shall, instead of being murdered or sold into slavery as the rebels threaten, be treated as prisoners of war.

I referred to this prating about the Constitution. It continues unabated to this day. Anxiety lest we may lose, not the country, but the Constitution, is no less irrational, and is infinitely more ruinous, than would be anxiety to save, not the man from drowning, but his hat from going down stream.

I, who have never spoken nor written one word against the Constitution, and who have spoken and written more words for it than did ever any pro-slavery man, living or dead, can afford to say that this prating for it has made "Constitution" the most offensive of all the sounds that strike upon my ear. "Slavery" itself is to me a less disturbing word than this one, under cover of which Slavery is hypocritically served.

I spoke of the continuance of this prating. In reply to every proposition for a more vigorous prosecution of the war, we are still met with the cry, "The Constitution! The Constitution!!" And even now, when we would help on the war by allowing the soldiers of the State of New York to vote at her elections, we are met by this same cry. Surely, surely, we have here another proof that our nation is ruined.

How commanding are the reasons for allowing them to vote! No other class of men have so emphatic a right to vote for the rulers of their country as these, who are perilling their lives for her, and doing more than any and all other classes to save her. There is no other class of men whose rights we should hold so sacred. Then, to convince them that we love them and stand by them, we should hasten to recognize all their rights and to facilitate their exercise. Moreover, that they may be inspired to do their utmost for their country, they must see that they are regarded, not as her armed defenders only, but as still her citizens—and her citizens not robbed of, but protected in their rights, by their fellow-citizens whom they have left at home. A European army is for the most part made up of the dregs of the population—of men without acknowledged political rights, and without character. Very different is our army. It is composed of those who, besides being our superiors in patriotism and courage, are our equals in rights, intelligence and character. Let this be borne in mind by all who would disfranchise them. I add, that there is no other class of men whom we should feel ourselves so strongly bound to honor, and to gratify in every possible way, as our noble and beloved soldiers. Another argument for allowing the soldiers to vote is, that here one of them who is a Democrat, and there one of them who is a Republican, will, under some excuse or other, go home to play his part in deciding a hotly contested and doubtful election. This, besides damaging the efficiency of the army, furnishes just ground of complaint, now to one of the parties, and now to the other. Nevertheless, the temptation to this violation of duty is too strong to be successfully resisted by all. American citizens, educated as they are to prize the ballot, and accustomed as they are to cast it, cannot easily school themselves into contentment with not casting it.

But it is claimed that the framers of the Constitution of our State intended that voting at our elections should be always in person, and never by proxy. Our pro-slavery demagogues have made so much account of the pro-slavery words of some of the framers of the Federal Constitution, that the habit of interpreting a Constitution in the light of what its framers intended has come to obtain all over the country. But in point of fact, the intentions of its framers, as such, are not to be allowed to enter at all into the interpretation and meaning of a Constitution—no, no more than the intentions of the scrivener, who wrote the deed, into the interpretation and meaning of the deed. What the people who adopted it intended by it is the only legitimate inquiry at this point; and what they intended by it is to be learned solely from its letter, where that is unambiguous. Nay, more; where the purpose is to defeat rights, (and suffrage is among the highest rights,) we are not at liberty to seek help outside of the letter of the Constitution.

The letter of the Constitution in the case before us is entirely free from ambiguity. It clearly leaves it to the Legislature to say how the voting shall be—whether in person or by proxy—whether it shall be all in one way, or a part in one way, and a part in another. It does say that a part of the voting shall be by ballot; and it might as easily have said that all voting shall be in person. But it does not say it. What it would have said, had it spoken on the point, is an utterly impertinent inquiry. Moreover, it is a fair, not to say irresistible inference, that inasmuch as the Constitution does at one point, and only one point, prescribe the manner of voting, it intended to leave it to the Legislature to prescribe it at every other. I add, that were it our custom to vote by proxy, no one would regard such voting as repugnant to the Constitution. But clearly, if with that custom it would not be unconstitutional, the lacking of that custom cannot make it unconstitutional. Not custom, but the Constitution, determines what voting is constitutional.

So far as the Constitution is concerned, the Legislature may provide that all the voting be by proxy. I admit that such a provision would be unwise. I admit, too, that I can conceive of no other case than that of the soldiers in which it would be wise. In their case, it would be, not only for the reasons I have mentioned, but because the soldiers are so numerous. I would not, for the sake of accommodating a comparative handful of aged or infirm men, have our States allow so objectionable a mode of voting as is that by proxy; but for the sake of securing the rights of half a million to a million of soldiers, I would not only have them allow it, but I would denounce the denial of it as unreasonable and unrighteous—a high crime against both the soldiers and the country.

For one, I shout with joy, and I would have every other lover of his dear country and of her dear defenders do so, that there is not one line nor one word in our State Constitution against voting by proxy.

I said that our nation is ruined. She is. But I have never despaired of her recovery from her ruin. Few things inspire me with so strong a hope of this recovery as the growing disposition to let the army vote. They who meet the rebels face to face know better how to vote than do we, who keep ourselves at a safe distance from the foe. Ay, and they have better earned the right to vote. If either of us must be disfranchised—I, who remain amongst the comforts and safety of home, or he who welcomes the sufferings and perils of the soldier; I, who know the rebels but by hearing of them, or he, who knows them by seeing and feeling them; I, who but read of the battles, or he, who has part in them—then, in the name of reason and religion, let it be me and not him.

GERRIT SMITH.

Peterboro', April 20th, 1863.

HOW TO PUT DOWN THE REBELLION.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON:

We can never put down this rebellion by war alone. We must find Union men in the country of our enemies, or put them there. If we cannot do this, our efforts are vain. Some forty years ago, Russia (seventy millions) commenced a war of subjugation on Circassia, (two millions,) and the job is still on hand. Look at the map! Five hundred thousand armed men would scarce be felt in such a vast domain. We cannot assure our conquests, as the Jews and Tartars did, by universal massacre. But if we had, say six or seven millions of friends there, the case would be very different. Suppose we count the negroes as four millions of these Unionists,—though we don't deserve that they should be our friends; the other two or three millions can be readily enough provided in soldiers and their families. Now turn to the map again. We have at Hilton Head and vicinity a position among the islands impregnable from the land. It is near the line of Georgia and South Carolina—the two States having the densest population of slaves. Push a force into the country from this point until you can place one hundred thousand stand of arms in the hands of one hundred thousand negroes. Drill them; make an army of them. This will take a year to do, and do it well. With one half the population on our side, and one hundred thousand of them in arms, what shall hinder communications being opened with West North Carolina and East Tennessee, three hundred miles away? This cuts the rebellion in two. Now make friends of the poor whites. The slave-driver's lies can be counteracted when you can have access to them. Here commences the true labor of the Abolitionist. The thirty years of contumely, mobs and social ostracism were only the introduction to their real work, just as the thirty years' traitorous scheming of the slave-drivers was but the preparation for their present labors in this devilish rebellion. We must colonize. Abolitionists must take the lead. Soldiers with their families, civilians with theirs, and the negroes, must divide the slaveholders' plantations, and occupy them by the strong hand. It won't be necessary to kill all the slave-owners. France did not kill half of the aristocracy that had fattened on her blood and muscle for centuries. She expelled them, and she *confiscated their land*. This is the only cure for this ulcer. Give the land of the aristocracy of human flesh to those who will hold it in the interests of liberty. There is no such dangerous enemy as the enemy who colonizes. If we are not ready to colonize, we may as well stop where we are.

We want another army of a hundred thousand negroes at New Orleans, and another in Northern Alabama and Mississippi.

But O, non-resistant! how shall these things be, except with force, violence, homicide? When barbarous cupidity would steal our country, when the cold-blooded murder of a non-resistant Abolitionist only whets the wolfish appetite for another victim, what is the Peace Society going to do about it? Let the Abolitionist lay its hypocritical letter on the shelf, and take in one hand the only argument which the slave-driver recognizes and understands—the John Brown argument—in the other the spelling-book, and proceed on his mission of Peace.

Truly, yours, J. B. LYON.

Cleveland, Ohio.

[☞ In his interrogations, our correspondent overlooks the fact, that our land is cursed with slavery and afflicted with war solely because it rejects the principles of peace. "Wisdom is justified of her children." "Let the dead bury their dead."—*Ed. Lib.*]

THE BLACKS IN KANSAS.

Extract from a letter recently received from an old and beloved Anti Slavery coadjutor in Lawrence:—

"Kansas, for the past two years, would furnish an instructive page in history. A majority of her people, a part from prejudice and hatred, and many from policy, were determined to prevent blacks from settling in the State. Thousands of her population rushed to arms at the commencement of the war, and a continued drain has been going on to fill up the decimated ranks. All the border counties of Missouri have been despoiled, as were the Egyptians of old.

All the slave population, (men, women and children,) horses, mules, cattle of every description, household goods and all moveable property, have flowed in one continual stream into this State, spreading over every county, supplying the labor that the demands of the war had made upon her citizens. The contrast presented by this emigration to that of the Border Ruffians in 1855–6, has produced a great change in public sentiment. The blacks, for the most part, were gladly welcomed, and they seemed most naturally to step into their appropriate places. Farmers and mechanics were greedily sought after, and though they came by tens and fifties and hundreds, in an incredibly short space of time, they would be comfortably settled and at work as old residents. From the window where I sit writing, I can see the log-houses of three or four families, (one of ten children,) who are cultivating my neighbors' farms on shares, and doing well. When the proprietor of the farm finds teams, implements of husbandry, seed, &c., he gives the cultivator one third of the produce. If the cultivator finds teams and means, he takes two thirds, and the proprietor one third. They are a quiet, peaceable and industrious people, eager to learn, and have already lived down a world of prejudice and opposition. Save here and there a pro-slavery secession Democrat, who objects to his children going to school with a nigger, (as he terms them,) we should stagnate for want of agitation. In Lawrence, they have built a brick school and meeting-house, have already bought house-lots, and are building and preparing to build, and have considerable sums of money at ten per cent. interest with Messrs. Simpson Brothers. In a word, they have more than verified the most sanguine anticipations of their friends, and put to open shame their enemies."

TO THE WOMEN OF THE REPUBLIC.

When our leading journals, orators, and brave men from the battle-field complain that Northern women feel no enthusiasm in the war, the time has come for us to speak—to pledge ourselves loyal to Freedom and our Country.

Thus far, there has been no united public expression from the women of the North as to the policy of the war. Here and there, one has spoken, and written nobly. Many have vied with each other in acts of generosity and self-sacrifice for the sick and wounded in camp and hospital. But we have, as yet, no means of judging how and where the majority of Northern women stand.

If it be true that, at this hour, the women of the South are more devoted to their cause than we to ours, the fact lies here: They see and feel the horrors of the war: the foe is at their firesides; while we, in peace and plenty, live and move as heretofore. There is an inspiration, too, in a definite purpose, be it good or bad. The women of the South know what their sons are fighting for. The women of the North do not. They appreciate the blessings of Slavery; we do not the blessings of Liberty. We have never yet realized the glory of those institutions in whose defence it is the high privilege of our sires and sons this day to bleed and die. They are aristocrats with a lower class, servile and obsequious, intrenched in feudal homes. We are aristocrats under protest, who must go abroad to indulge our tastes, and enjoy in foreign despotisms the courts and customs which the genius of a republic repudiates and condemns.

But, from the beginning of the Government, there have been women among us, who, with the mother of the immortal John Quincy Adams, have lamented the inconsistencies of our theory and practice, and demanded for ALL the people the exercise of those rights that belong to every citizen of a republic.

The women of a nation mould its morals, religion and politics. The Northern treason, now threatening to betray us to our foes, is hatched at our own firesides, where traitor snobs, returned from Europe and the South, out of time and tune with independence and equality, infuse into their sons the love of caste and class, of fame and family, wealth and ease, and baptize it all in the name of Republicanism and Christianity.

Let every woman understand that this war involves the same principles that have convulsed the nations of the earth from Pharaoh to Abraham Lincoln—Liberty or Slavery—Democracy or Aristocracy—Christianity or Barbarism—and choose, this day, whether our republican institutions shall be placed on an enduring basis, and an eternal peace secured to our children, or whether we shall leap back through generations of light and experience, and meekly bow again to chains and slavery.

Shall Northern freemen yet stand silent lookers-on when through Topeka, St. Paul, Chicago, Cleveland, Boston and New York, men and women, little boys and girls, chained in gangs, shall march to their own sad music, beneath a tyrant's lash? On our sacred soil shall we behold the auction-block—babies sold by the pound, and beautiful women for the vilest purposes of lust; where parents and children, husbands and wives, brothers and sisters shall be torn from each other, and sent East and West, North and South? Shall our free presses and free schools, our palace homes, colleges, churches and stately capitols all be levelled to the dust? Our household gods all desecrated, and our proud lips, ever taught to sing pæans to Liberty, made to swear allegiance to the god of Slavery? Such degradation, and more than words can tell, shall yet be ours, if we gird not up our giant freemen now to crush this rebellion, and root out forever the hateful principle of caste and class. Men who, in the light of the Nineteenth Century, believe that God made one race all booted and spurred, and another to be ridden; who would build up a government with slavery for its corner-stone, cannot live on the same continent with a pure democracy.

'To counsel grim-visaged war seems hard to come from womm's lips; but better far that the bones of our sons and sires whiten every Southern plain, that we do their rough work at home, than that Liberty, struck dumb in the Capital of our Republic, should plead no more for man. Every woman who appreciates the grand problem of national life, must say, war, pestilence, famine, anything but an ignoble peace.

We are but co-workers now with the true ones of every age. The history of the past is but one long struggle upward to equality. All men, born slaves to ignorance, superstition, lust and fear, crept through centuries of darkness, discord and despair—now one race dominant, then another—but in this ceaseless warring, ever wearing off their chains and the gross material surroundings of a mere animal existence, at last the sun of civilization and Christianity dawned on the soul of man, and the precious seed of the ages, garnered up in the Mayflower, was carried in the hollow of God's hand across the mighty waters, and planted deep beneath the snow and ice of Plymouth Rock, with prayers and thanksgiving. And what grew there? Men and women who loved liberty better than life; men and women who believed that not only in person but in speech, should they be free, and worship the God who had brought them thus far, according to the dictates of their own conscince; men and women, who, like Daniel of old, defied the royal lion in his den; men and women who repudiated the creeds and codes of despots and tyrants, and declared to a waiting world that all men are created equal. And for rights like these the fathers fought for seven long years, and we have no record that the women of that revolution ever once cried, "Hold, enough!" till the invading foe was conquered, and our independence recognized by the nations of the earth.

And here we are, the grandest nation on the globe. By right, no privileged caste or class; education free to all; the humblest digger in the ditch has all the civil, social and religious rights with the highest in the land. The poorest woman at the wash-tub may be the mother of a future President. Here, all are heirs apparent to the throne. The genius of our institutions bids every man to rise, stand upright, perfect and use all the powers that God has given him.

It cannot be, that for blessings such as these, now twice baptized in blood, the women of the North do not stand ready for any sacrifice.

A sister of Kossuth, with him an exile to this country, in conversation one day, called my attention to an iron bracelet, the only ornament she wore. In the darkest days of Hungary, said she, our noble women threw their wealth and jewels into the public treasury, and clasping iron bands around their wrists, pledged themselves that these should be the only jewels they would wear till Hungary was free.

If darker hours than these should come to us, the women of the North will count no sacrifice too great. What are wealth and jewels, home and ease, sires and sons, to the birthright of freedom, secured to us by the heroes of the Revolution—liberty to universal man? Shall a priceless heritage like this be wrested now from us by Southern tyrants, and Northern women look on unmoved, or basely bid our freemen sue for peace? No! No! The vacant places at our firesides, the void in every heart, says, No! Such sacrifices must not be in vain! The cloud that hangs over all our Northern homes is gilded with the hope, that through these present sufferings the nation shall be redeemed.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

New York, March 30, 1863.

AN ELOQUENT COLORED LECTURER. The people of Chicago have recently been favored by a very interesting course of lectures on Africa by Dr. DELANEY, who has travelled extensively in that country. This gentleman, though of a despised race, has proved himself every whit a man of ability and extensive erudition. Some of our negro-haters might do well, on the score of valuable information, to become his pupils. We copy from the Chicago *Tribune*, a report of one of the lectures referred to, on our first page.

From the Washington Chronicle.

THE FAST THAT GOD HATH CHOSEN.

BY REV. JOHN PIERPONT.

Hymn for the National Fast, April 30th, 1863.

"Is it such a fast that I have chosen—a day for a man to afflict his soul; to bow down his head like a bulrush, and to spread sackcloth and ashes under him? Is not *this* the fast that I have chosen: to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?"—Isaiah lviii: 5, 6.

In deep humility,
Worshipping only Thee,
Prostrate we fall,
And while Thy name we bless,
And own Thy righteousness,
Lord, in our sore distress,
On Thee we call.

Our great sin we bemoan—
Our fathers' and our own;
We cloak no more
The hundred years of wrong
We've nursed and made so strong;
The sin we've loved so long
We now deplore.

As sovereign, on Thy throne
Vengeance sits not alone
To scourge our land:
Mercy comes nearer Thee,
And, on her bended knee,
Holds back, with her strong plea,
Thy chastening hand.

Beneath the tempest's tread
The bulrush bows its head;
But when the blast
That humbled it is o'er,
It lifts itself once more
As proudly as before
The storm o'erpassed.

So be it not with us!
But, while we bow down thus
Beneath Thy frown,
Let us, with penance meet,
Lie lowly at Thy feet,
And ne'er the sin repeat
That brought us down.

Washington, D. C., April 5, 1863.

PROPOSITION TO EXCLUDE COLORED PERSONS FROM MASSACHUSETTS.

In the Massachusetts House of Representatives, on Saturday, Mr. P. W. Chandler, of Boston, from the Committee on Federal Relations, reported leave to withdraw on the petition of James Fernald and others of Rockport, for a law forbidding any more persons of color from coming into the State. The Report is in the following words:—

"The petitioners, who are 'citizens and legal voters in the town of Rockport, in the county of Essex,' respectfully pray your honors to pass a law forbidding any more persons of color from coming into the State of Massachusetts to become citizens of the State."

No facts are set forth in the petition; no reasons are assigned, and no person has appeared before the Committee on behalf of the petitioners. Nor are we aware of the particular 'color' which is objected to, or what precise shade calls for the interposition of the General Court; and there has been no evidence offered as to the complexion of the petitioners themselves.

If the term used is intended to include copper-colored persons, like Malays or Chinese, or any natives of distant countries, perhaps the fact that our ships are finding it too difficult at present to obtain cargoes or passengers, or to navigate the seas at all, may relieve the petitioners from any present alarm on this score, although they may justly perhaps feel some degree of apprehension for a new species of copperheads which are nearer home. If, again, the term is meant to include persons of African descent, in the Southern States, they seem too busy just now in aiding their owners to raise corn and wheat and cotton, and in building forts, to give us much uneasiness as to any danger of their 'becoming citizens of this State.'

The Committee think it will be safe to delay action on this matter at least until the next General Court. If we were not of that opinion it might be necessary to consider some of the legal, moral and constitutional difficulties which would prevent the legislation asked for.

The colonists of Massachusetts early claimed the right to exclude 'persons of (any) color' from her limits who were objectionable, on account of their religious or political opinions. They frequently exercised this power, both by general laws and by special orders, in individual instances. They even inflicted the punishment of death on persons who insisted upon returning after banishment; and they found themselves involved in embarrassments, by this course of legislation, as unexpected as they were trying, on account of the pertinacious conscientiousness of a 'people called Quakers.' Their descendants are not accustomed to dwell on these things with any great complacency, and are not particularly desirous of giving them remarkable prominence in political discussions or historical essays.

Our ancestors were actuated by conscientious motives in what they did, and they acted up to the light of that age. The obnoxious provisions were repealed, and the General Court thought it necessary to make a declaration on the subject, which was sent to the towns. "A man that hath children and family,' they say, 'both justly may, and in duty ought to preserve them of his charge, as far as he is able, from the dangerous company of persons infected with the plague or pestilence, or other contagious, noisome and mortal diseases; and if such persons should offer to intrude into the man's house, amongst his children and family, could any one doubt but the father might withstand such intrusion? Therefore, might not magistrates do the like for their subjects, to keep out moral infection?'

This reads fairly, but did not work well when incorporated into legislation, as certain theories in mechanics are seldom practically true on account of the allowance to be made for friction.

But the colonists never troubled themselves to exclude persons on account of the color of their skins, if their souls were white. On the contrary, they eagerly welcomed whole cargoes of people from Guinea itself, some of the descendants of whom are now respectable citizens.

At a comparatively recent period, namely, in 1788, it was provided by law that 'no person being an African or negro, other than the subject of the Emperor of Morocco, or a citizen of some one of the United States, (to be evidenced by a certificate from the Secretary of the State of which he shall be a citizen,) shall tarry within this Commonwealth for a longer time than two months.' It is a significant fact, that the legislature of this Commonwealth, within a month after the ratification of the Constitution of the United States, expressly recognized the fact that persons of African descent might be citizens of the States, and entitled to all the privileges as such within this Commonwealth. The doctrine that such persons were not and could not be citizens under that Constitution did not obtain in Massachusetts seventy years ago."

A RETURNED FUGITIVE SLAVE AGAIN FREE.—Thomas Sims, who was returned from Boston in 1851 to his master in Georgia, under the Fugitive Slave Law, arrived in Boston on Thursday of last week, with his family. He came direct from Vicksburg, where he had been employed as a bricklayer, having escaped from that city about three weeks ago to General Grant's lines in a dugout, with his wife, child and four colored men.

Two of the men who escaped from Vicksburg with Sims found employment on Porter's fleet, although offered passes to the North. One came to New York, and the fourth, an intelligent young fellow, accompanied him to this city.

The fugitives brought with them a few household treasures, keepsakes of friends, and daguerreotype pictures of dear relatives, still in bondage, but whom they hope soon to greet as free.

The life of Sims, with the story of his treatment since taken back to slavery, would make an interesting story, and probably it will be published in a small volume, at an early day.—*Boston Traveller.*

WAR INTELLIGENCE. From every quarter of the great battle-field, the intelligence is of a cheering nature. Gen. Banks with his forces has achieved a signal victory at Bethel Place and Franklin, killing and wounding many of the rebels, capturing some thousands, and forcing the enemy to destroy ten steamboats and two large gunboats—including immense stores of provisions, 20,000 pounds of bacon, and 1000 cases of ammunition—&c., &c.

☞ One thousand contrabands have been sent to Island No. 10, in the Mississippi, to cultivate the farms on that island for the Government.

☞ The newly-commissioned black surgeon, Dr. Augusta Canada, appeared on the streets of Washington in Major's uniform. He has been assigned to Ullman's Brigade.

☞ Mr. A. Minard, of Lockport, N. Y., offers $25 bounty to each able-bodied colored man that will enlist in the service of the United States, in any colored regiment now being formed.

☞ The number of applications for widows' and invalid pensions is enormous. Since the war began, seventeen thousand of the former and eleven thousand of the latter have been received.

APPEAL

OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE RELIEF OF COLORED WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

Believing that the time has come when some permanent means should be adopted for aiding that unfortunate class of our fellow-beings called Contrabands or Refugees, we have associated ourselves together for the purpose of organizing a Home for aged colored Women and Children.

In the Freedmen's camp of this city, also in Alexandria, are numbers, constantly increasing, of orphaned and destitute children, and of infirm and aged persons. Slavery, by its life and in its end, has made both the nation's charge. Will the benevolent continue to clothe and the Government to feed these now helpless ones, in the present inefficient and expensive manner, rearing the children amidst the idleness and depravities of camp life, or will they use the means that humanity impels them to give, systematically for the support and elevation of the children, and the decent maintenance of those whose unpaid toil leaves their last days no resource but charity?

We propose to found an Asylum in or near this city to shelter both extremes of life. The fact that here all charitable institutions are closed against this portion of our fellow-beings makes our effort doubly imperative.

In the hope that national justice and charity would respond to the call and afford requisite funds to carry out our proposed object, when apparent that the funds would be judiciously applied, we appealed to Congress for a charter, and for such aid as it could consistently give. The charter has been promptly given us, but the present state of the national finances renders it doubtful whether aid, at present available, will be granted. We must, therefore, rely upon individual charity for the means necessary to inaugurate and carry out this important undertaking.

Hundreds in each of these classes, needing relief, are already congregated in our midst. The little children suffer especially from the crowded prison life of the camps. The mortality among them is very great.

Our work should begin at once. We ask all to give it their earnest thought, and such response as their hearts dictate.

GULIELMA BREED, *Secretary.*

Washington, D. C., Feb. 27, 1863.

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Money and packages may be sent directly to the Treasurer, Mrs. M. E. WEBSTER, Washington, D. C.

The following also are authorized to receive donations for the Association:—

Mrs. J. M. S. Williams, Cambridge, Mass.; Miss A. M. Hooper, Boston, Mass.; Mrs. Wm. Endicott, Jr., 10 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, Mass.; Mrs. Wm. Claflin, Newton, Mass.; Mrs. T. D. Eliot, New Bedford, Mass.; Miss Lydia B. Mann, Providence, Rhode Island; Rebecca C. Tatham, Anna H. Shotwell, Lucy Gibbons, New York, N. Y.; Mrs. Wm. Barnes, Albany, N. Y.; Mrs. Charles B. Sedgwick, Syracuse, N. Y.; Mrs. Anna Barnes, Rochester, N. Y.; Mary Murray Ferris, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; Margaret Robinson, Anna Wharton, Philadelphia, Penn.; Mrs. Prof. J. D. Dana, New Haven, Conn.; Miss Mary Wells, Hartford, Conn.; Jacob R. Shotwell, Rahway, New Jersey; Levi Coffin, Cincinnati, Ohio; Prof. Jehu Brainerd, Cleveland, Ohio; Laura B. Haviland, Ann Arbor, Michigan; Mrs. John Hastings, San Francisco, California.

FIFTY-FOURTH (COLORED) REGIMENT.

A CARD.—The Committee appointed by His Excellency the Governor to assist in the recruiting of this regiment, desire to state to the public that they are greatly in need of funds to facilitate the object of their appointment.

Owing to the sparseness of the colored population in Massachusetts, men were sought at distant points, whose transportation and subsistence are defrayed by the Committee. Not unfrequently recruits are rejected by the surgeon, and the expense of their return home is likewise borne by the Committee. Notwithstanding this, the expense attending the organization of this regiment is believed to be much less than that of any other which has left the State.

The aid furnished by the State for recruiting is comparatively limited, as it is based on the supposition of the recruits being found mainly within the Commonwealth.

Contributions to the fund will be thankfully received by the Treasurer and Secretary, Richard P. Hallowell, Esq., 98 Federal Street, Boston.

The following named gentlemen constitute the Committee:—George L. Stearns, John M. Forbes, Wm. I. Bowditch, Amos A. Lawrence, LeBarron Russell, Charles W. Slack, Richard P. Hallowell.

Boston, March 30, 1863.

CONTRIBUTIONS FOR THE FIFTY-FOURTH (COLORED) REGIMENT.

I have received in aid of the 54th Regiment the following sums, not previously acknowledged, viz.:—

John S. Emory, $10; John H. Robinson, $1; Charles E. Allen, 50 cts.; E. W. Kinsley, $5; S. Urbino, $15; Mrs. Urbino, $5; Pond & Duncklee, $30; Rev. C. A. Bartol, $10; U. and J. Ritchie, $50; John H. Cabot, $7; Mary E. Cabot, $3; Mary P. Payson, $1; Thomas Drew, $2; Mrs. Frederick Tudor, $10; Miss P. Adams, $5; Mrs. H. N. Holland, $5; Miss S. P. Beck, $2; Miss M. A. Haliburton, $1; Samuel Johnson, $50; A friend, $5. Also from Malden Picket Guard, 56 towels, 54 hdkfs; Mrs. Barstow, 3 pair socks; Mary P. Payson, 3 pair socks; J. B. Whitmore, 7 barrels of apples; Miss Dana, socks; Rice, Kendall & Co., package of stationary.

J. H. STEPHENSON, Treasurer,
For the Committee.

12 Arch Street, April 20, 1863.

CALL FOR A MEETING OF THE LOYAL WOMEN OF THE NATION.

In this crisis of our Country's destiny, it is the duty of every citizen to consider the peculiar blessings of a republican form of government, and decide what sacrifices of wealth and life are demanded for its defence and preservation.

The policy of the war, our whole future life, depends on a universal, clearly defined idea of the end proposed, and the immense advantages to be secured to ourselves and all mankind, by its accomplishment.

No mere party or sectional cry, no technicalities of Constitution or military law, no mottoes of craft or policy are big enough to touch the great heart, of a nation in the midst of revolution. A grand idea, such as freedom or justice, is needful to kindle and sustain the fires of a high enthusiasm.

At this hour, the best word and work of every man and woman are imperatively demanded. To man, by common consent, is assigned the forum, camp and field. What is woman's legitimate work, and how she may best accomplish it, is worthy our earnest counsel one with another.

We have heard many complaints of the lack of enthusiasm among Northern Women; but, when a mother lays her son on the altar of her country, she asks an object equal to the sacrifice. In nursing the sick and wounded, knitting socks, scraping lint, and making jellies, the bravest and best may weary if the thoughts mount not in faith to something beyond and above it all. Work is worship only when a noble purpose fills the soul.

Woman is equally interested and responsible with man in the final settlement of this problem of self-government; therefore let none stand idle spectators now. When every hour is big with destiny, and each delay but complicates our difficulties, it is high time for the daughters of the revolution, in solemn council, to unseal the last will and testament of the Fathers, lay hold of their birthright of freedom, and keep it a sacred trust for all coming generations.

To this end, we ask the loyal Women of the Nation to meet in New York, on THURSDAY, the 14th of May next.

Let the Women of every State be largely represented, both by person and by letter.

There will be two sessions—The first at 10 o'clock, A. M., at the Church of the Puritans, (Dr. Cheever's,) admittance free—The second at the Cooper Institute—at half past 7 o'clock, P. M., admittance 25 cents.

On behalf of the Woman's Central Committee,
ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

N. B.—Communications relative to and for the meeting should be addressed to SUSAN B. ANTHONY, 48 Beekman Street, New York.

YEARLY MEETING OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS.

The Religious Society of Progressive Friends will hold its Eleventh Yearly Meeting at Longwood, Chester County, Pa., commencing on Fifth-day (Thursday), the 4th of Sixth month (June), 1863, at 10 o'clock, A. M., and continuing two or three days.

The Progressive Friends are not associated upon any theological or ecclesiastical basis, but attracted by a common desire to promote their own moral and spiritual improvement, and to labor for the promotion among mankind of whatsoever things are just, beneficent and pure. It is their aim to maintain freedom of inquiry, thought and speech; to be hospitable to new ideas, proving all things and holding fast that which is good; to deliver themselves and others from the benumbing power of superstition, sectarianism and priestcraft; to open their hearts freely to all Divine and ennobling inspirations, giving heed to the spirit more than to the letter; and to exert their whole moral influence, as individuals and as an association, for the overthrow of every system of injustice and fraud, and the upbuilding of all that tends to promote the highest welfare of the human family.

The measure of success which has attended our labors as a Religious Society during the last ten years, to say nothing of the great enjoyment we have had in them, encourages us to persevere in the good work. And now when our country is involved in all the disasters and perils of a bloody struggle for the overthrow of slavery and the preservation of free institutions, the duty of laboring for the diffusion of the principles on which our association is founded seems more than ever imperative. We therefore invite all who cherish those principles to meet and co-operate with us.

Oliver Johnson,	Mary Lundy Barnard,
Jennie K. Smith,	Theodore Tilton,
William Barnard,	Hannah Cox,
Mary P. Wilson,	Sarah M. Barnard,
Maria Agnew,	Edwin H. Coates,
Henry M. Smith,	Susanna P. Chambers,
Dinah Mendenhall,	Allen Agnew,
Alfred H. Love,	Annie M. Stambach, M. D.

☞ E. H. HEYWOOD will speak in WEST BOYLSTON, Sunday evening, May 3d.

☞ MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., has removed to 62 Dover street. Particular attention paid to Diseases of Women and Children.

References.—Luther Clark, M. D.; David Thayer, M. D. Office hours from 2 to 4, P. M.

MARRIED—In this city, April 22d, by Rev. George L. Chaney, THOMAS B. DREW and MARY H. MILLS, both of Plymouth.

OBITUARY.

DIED, April 11th, at half past 9 A. M., at his home in Frandon, Clermont Co., Ohio, near Cincinnati, CHRISTIAN DONALDSON. For thirty years his name has been identified with anti-slavery effort at the West, especially in Cincinnati, the scene of his long and upright business career. The writer well remembers his calm, unflinching steadfastness, when mob violence on several occasions threatened a large portion of his property with destruction, as a consequence of his prominent advocacy of the golden rule in behalf of the friendless slave.

Quiet and mild in demeanor, genial and kind in discourse, patient and careful in debate, his convictions were earnestly avowed in those dark days when the demon slavery sat enthroned in commerce, society, Church and State; when "to look but a protest in silence was brave."

Possessed of ample means, he always responded to the claim of real need. Many a pilgrim of liber'y, bound for a freer land, has dropped the burthen loosened by his charity, and gone on his way rejoicing.

Mr. Donaldson was the intimate co-worker of all the earliest pioneers of freedom in the West. Probably every early anti-slavery enterprise, by press, Convention and itinerant lecturers, received his contribution or his personal aid, and brightly waves the growing grain where he hopefully cast the seed.

His long life of singular uprightness closed in peace. His mental faculties were undimmed. His life-long love of justice and liberty was firm in the last stern ordeal. The spirit was strong, despite the weakness of the flesh. In the language of one who watched his departure, "he was anxious to enter upon a new field of usefulness." He leaves to the world he loved and wrought for, the example of a just, wise and humane life; he takes within the veil the warm esteem of his friends who remain, many of whom are among those "poor," whose benediction is of priceless worth.—*Anti-Slavery Standard.*

In Portland, (Me.) April 16th, BETSY WRIGHT, a venerable colored woman, between 80 and 90 years of age.

IN PREPARATION.

SPEECHES AND LECTURES
BY
WENDELL PHILLIPS.

THIS work is already in the hands of the printers, and will be issued shortly. It will be gotten up in the BEST STYLE of American workmanship—from the Cambridge University press; printed on fine tinted paper; bound in rich maroon vellum; and illustrated with a striking likeness of Mr. Phillips, on steel, by H. W. Smith. It will be in crown octavo, of at least 500 pages. Price $2. Sent by mail prepaid, to any part of the United States, for the retail price. Agents wanted in every State. Terms liberal. Address for Circular,

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LINCOLN AND OTHER PEACH TREES,
OF VERY SUPERIOR

Poetry.

For the Liberator.

THE CONTRABAND.

A SOLDIER'S STORY.

We were playing a game of euchre
By the dull Chickahominy's tide;
Not playing for filthy lucre,
But only our cares to hide:
For there's nothing so chill as inaction,
When afar from our dear ones we roam;
And the game had a magic attraction,
For it drowned the sad thoughts of our home.

Then our pickets, from the weary outlaying,
Had come in from the fartherest stand,
And our Colonel we overheard saying,
They had brought in a contraband.
'Twas a slave from the camps of the foemen,
Bringing news of the peril at hand;
'Twas no man, but a beautiful woman,
That we saw midst our officers stand.

And she stood there as handsome a creature
As the eyes of a mortal have seen;
Of the fine Grecian type was each feature,
And most noble and graceful her mien;
And her face, like the pure alabaster,
Was as fair as you'll find in the land;
Yet this being was owned by a master—
Was a slave and a contraband!

She had passed through the greatest of dangers,
But Providence guided her way;
And she warned us, the brave Northern strangers,
Of danger and death ere the day:
For at night, when the deepest of slumbers
Should enshroud the whole camp in its pall,
Then the rushing of uncounted numbers
Would o'erwhelm and destroy us all.

She was sent to the rear, and was guarded,
And our General was heard to say
In a speech, with vile oaths interlarded,
We'd be in at the death before day.
And so it befel ere the morning—
For 'twas just at the mid-watch of night
That, with scarcely one hour of warning,
We were 'whelmed in a terrible fight.

Our army, aroused, sternly waited
For the enemy's stealthy attack,
And, with courage and zeal unabated,
Resistlessly hurled them back.
There were swaths of the dead and the dying
In the track of that furious fray;
While the foe, from our fierce onset flying,
Disappeared ere the dawning of day.

'Twas that slave, at her life's greatest peril,
Saved our arms from defeat on that plain:—
Is justice so dead or so sterile
As to yield her to slavery again?
Shall the lash of a merciless master
Scar that beautiful form as of yore?
Shall we, saved from the verge of disaster,
Turn her back into bondage once more?

Ay! they sent the "girl" back in the morning,
When the master came in for his slave!
All honor, all manliness scorning,
They consigned her to worse than the grave!
We saw the slave-hunters surround her—
And her mute, inexpressible woe,
As the hands of that vile master bound her,
None but God and his angels may know!

Is it strange that God, the eternal,
Should unchain all the bolts of His wrath,
Thus to wipe out this bondage infernal,
Or to sweep our whole race from His path,
Since honor and justice no longer
Are practised or known in the land—
Since the weak must bow down to the stronger,
And God's image is contraband?

St. Johnsbury, Vt. F. B. GAGE.

From Chambers's Journal.

AN INVOCATION TO SPRING.

Come quickly, O, thou Spring!
Write love's fair alphabet upon the sod
In many-colored flowers to preach of God,
Our everlasting King!

Come from the rosy South,
In chariot of incense and of light,
Dissolve the lingering snows that glisten white
Beneath thy fragrant mouth.

Walk softly o'er the earth,
Thou blessed spirit of the Eden-time;
Thy breath is like an incense-laden clime,
Clasping rich bowers of mirth.

Thy virgin herald's here—
The snow-drop bears her bosom to the gale,
While down her cheek, so delicately pale,
Trickles a crystal tear.

The lark now soars above,
As if he felt thy freedom on his wings,
While from his heaven-attuned throat there rings
A charming peal of love.

The yet unbearded wheat
Now timidly puts forth its tender leaf,
To drink sweet dews—for Winter, ancient chief,
Crawls off with tottering feet.

Your sorrows now inter,
Ye dwellers in dark cities! Spring is nigh;
She bathes her garments in a sunset sky,
And treads the halls of Myrrh.

To God an anthem sing,
When forth ye hurry to the fields of bloom;
He lights the flowers, and lifts us from the tomb
To everlasting Spring!

THE SPRING-TIME.

In what fair country are the South winds straying,
With lingering steps and slow?
Amid what fairy groves and flowery delaying,
With whisperings soft and low?

Where stays the Spring-time, with her sunny tresses,
And coronal of flowers;
Her violets, upspringing 'mid the grasses,
And gentle Southern showers?

All day upon the hillsides I have listened
To hear her rushing feet;
With quick, impetuous footsteps I have hastened
Her glad return to greet.

Why comes she not? The mountain streams are breaking
Their silence deep and stern,
And silvery echoes, the still air awaking,
Call for her sweet return.

At last—oh, joy! I hear soft music ringing,
And fragrance fills the air,
And pale, green buds in eager haste are springing,
Her welcoming to share!

And in the air a dreamy softness lingers,
And violets arise,
As if some fairy, with enchanted fingers,
Had touched their sealed eyes!

Springfield, Pa. F. D.

NOT YET.

Not yet,—along the purpling sky
We see the dawning ray;
But leagues of cloudy distance lie
Between us and the day.

Not yet,—the aloe waits serene
Its promised advent-hour;
A patient century of green
To one full, perfect flower!

Not yet,—no harvest-song is sung
In the sweet ear of Spring;
Nor hear we, while the blade is young,
The reaper's sickle swing.

Not yet,—before the crown the cross;
The struggle ere the prize;
Before the gain the fearful loss;
And death ere Paradise.

CAROLINE A. MASON.

The Liberator.

THE CONNECTICUT AND SHENANDOAH.

A TALE OF TO-DAY.

CHAPTER XI.

WOMAN UNDER THE LAW.

In a private room of the Massasoit, Springfield, two gentlemen sat in low, earnest conversation.

"Yes, it may be so"—the taller and older of the two was just saying in a musing manner. "I was not aware that he had been there, or had ever seen you;" and he drew a deep breath of relief. "Yet, while it accounts for the mention of place and name, my suspicions are not wholly removed. The locality evidently occupies his thoughts, in some way, and is not safe for a day. A search-warrant at the door of that cottage is a thing to be anticipated, any moment. Could she not be removed at night to the Misses Kent, until strong enough for a longer journey?"

"That has occurred to me while we have been talking; but there is peril in any such unaccustomed movement through the town at such a time. I doubt whether an attempt at search would be successful, if Miss Harriet was the porter," said the younger of the gentlemen, with a smile.

"How? What do you mean, Horton, my dear fellow?"

"I mean the pitiful officials would be *outwitted*, in some way—I cannot predict how."

"Is it *safe* to trust to that?"

"Dr. Welford thinks she has gained so rapidly since her convalescence began, that in a few days she may travel at easy stages. Even the most impertinently curious of village gossips would find nothing to wonder at in the fact that a Doctor took his patient out for an airing, or that another invalid, Miss Mary Williams, accompanied them. Could we be sure of these few days, all would be well. The next conveyance would find her at the farm-house I mentioned, whose existence is scarcely suspected from its seclusion; thence by easy drives and frequent wayside restings, we shall, I am confident, get our sacred charge into a secure retreat." Edgar sighed as we have heard him before. His companion gave a penetrating glance of kind inquiry to the downcast face, which Edgar seemed not aware of.

"My dear friend," said Mr. Berkeley, tenderly, and that friend blushed, ingenuously, as the tone met his ear, "I shall never feel, for a moment, that Adela Herman is safe while in the United States. Our next aim must be to get her across the line. Ah, my dear Horton, it is a sad thing for patriot citizens to be obliged to make this admission. How should we feel with regard to a person whom we reverenced—a parent, for instance, on whose otherwise noble character a stain of corresponding magnitude with this rested? Talk of our being over-zealous! I wonder at my habitual apathy when such events make me fully conscious of the enormity of my country's sin and wo. A so-called *Christian family*, where the most innocent and lovely of its children must flee for safety to the habitations of strangers!" A profound sigh was the only response; but, instantly, Edgar rallied, for he felt those searching eyes upon him.

"We talk of the history of our country, Mr. Berkeley. The Preface is all we have, as yet."

"True, wholly true, Horton. And that unwritten volume will, I fear, be one of fearful tragedy. The saving atonement is ever vicarious; the baptism of renewal is ever in blood. The progress of Justice and Truth in the world is still with bleeding feet and pierced side over a burning marl and the cruel shards of a nominal civilization. God save us, although it be at this painful cost! Salvation is far from us now, in our fancied safety. Peace, that we pride ourselves on having maintained so long, is but the ominous pause that preludes a storm. By the very integrity of God's laws that strife must come, ere long, which

> 'Hurled headlong flaming from the ethereal sky,
> With hideous ruin and combustion, down
> To bottomless perdition,' those
> 'Who durst defy the Omnipotent.'"

"You are not anticipating a civil war, Mr. Berkeley, other than that of the ballot-box at the approaching Presidential election?"

"My friend, I know something of the North and South of this nation. The policy of the latter has borne sway for more than a quarter of a century, because the timidity and cupidity of the former have allowed it; ay, more—have voluntarily wrought for it. The party of Freedom is gaining in numbers, at the North, but not in *courage*. That party will occupy the places of power, after this autumnal crisis, but will lack the directness and force that come in one of two ways, if they come at all—from the *habit of bearing rule*, or from *thorough possession* by the idea which forms the basis of action. The South, wholly unscrupulous, is as sublimely centred around its purpose as its great Prototype, who uttered, in the language of the Immortal Bard, the sentiment common to both,

> 'To reign is worth ambition, though in hell;
> Better to reign in hell, than serve in heaven.'

Frustrated, by numbers, in their so-called *civil* schemes for power, the adherents of oppression will imitate the action, as well as echo the sentiment of their renowned exemplars. To do this they will be encouraged by what they know so well to be true—that it is a majority in *numbers*, not in effective *forces*, that supersedes them in authority; that so many of the transient but potent interests of the North are on their side; that everywhere, among the acknowledged followers of the Highest Truth of the Hour, every twelfth is a Judas. Milton still shall speak for me; for his grand epic gives the greatness of my thought better than my weak words can do. Had the North by its uncompromising moral energies compelled the South—as it was its right and duty to do—compelled the antagonists of Freedom to say of it as Beelzebub said of the 'King of Heaven'—

> 'For he, be sure,
> In highth or depth, still first and last will reign
> Sole King, and of his kingdom lose no part
> By our revolt, but over hell extend
> His empire, and with iron sceptre rule
> Us here, as with his golden those in heaven.'

Had this legitimate sovereignty of the *Right* been exercised thirty years ago, and still exercised, unfalteringly, to the present hour, the dark omens of the present had been bright harbingers, instead, or magnificent displays of unexampled possibilities made actual. Whether this inherent principle of Omnipotence will rouse and assert itself when the crisis comes, it is not easy to determine; but I incline to the opinion that the majestic form of Justice will still creep in the leading-strings of "expediency," and the regal arm of Righteousness be still manacled by "compromise." Edgar, it is a heart-sickening commentary on the progress of the race, that the menace of evil has still so much more present power than the promises of good. But, pardon me, my friend, I shall infect you with what you may deem a fit of *vapeurs du noirs*."

"Not so, Mr. Berkeley; I agree with you in every word you utter; and venture to predict that the very next step of the party nominally on the side of Right will be one of compromise—I mean the selection of a candidate for the Presidency. Half the victory in any contest is won by that courageous confidence which is prepared to walk directly to its goal without swerve or halt, taking for granted the confidence of others in its success and right to success, and converting, by the irresistible magic of *will*, hindrances into helps. The other half finds its conditions in the right choice of agents directed by the same spirit. The cause of Freedom drops out this spinal column from its virtue—Slavery inserts it, effectively, of course, into its vice. Hence our present position; hence the too tangible basis of your prophecy."

Here the gentlemen resumed the especial subject that brought them together. We leave them, and take our next post of observation at the Williams Cottage, some days later.

Miss Harriet's trim figure was arrayed in a very becoming nine-penny calico morning-gown, (every thing seemed to fit well and take just the right color on her,) with an ample gingham apron, and arms bared to the elbows; she seemed to be the only occupant of the first floor of the cottage, and was moving with quiet, cheerful alacrity about her well-ordered kitchen, in the discharge of her morning household duties. Occasionally a fragment of some familiar melody dropped, in a subdued warble, from her lips into the harmonies of her other subdued activities. Suddenly the sharp vibration of the, for a week unmuffled, door-bell broke in upon the domestic rhythm. Evidently there was no one to respond to it but Miss Harriet; she, however, manifested no perturbation, but tranquilly laying aside her slightly soiled apron, and confining her sleeves at the wrists, proceeded to the "front-door." Nor did a formidable array of three persons of the other sex, which presented itself before the entrance, disturb her equanimity, although one of those persons was Deacon Sleeper himself. That devout official, whom we last saw in a yet more *worshipful* capacity, bowed his profoundest bow, and smiled his blandest smile, as his round eyes lighted on the unembarrassed maiden; then glanced off with the restlessness of latent anxiety to a dark-browed and darker-bearded personage at his side, whom the lady recognized with a perfectly self-possessed inclination of the head; then fell, as if they would gladly expand into ancient shields for his protection, upon a small, wiry, parchment image, with gimlet eyes and jackknife adjustment of movements. Miss Harriet certainly seemed taller than usual, as she glanced over the group, but, otherwise, there was nothing to remark as different from her habitual aspect and demeanor. There was not so long a pause on the threshold as this paragraph seems to indicate.

"Will you walk in, gentlemen?" asked the hostess of her visitors when the salutatory bow had passed wholly around. The trio followed her into the little parlor where we have witnessed other interesting scenes. Motioning them to seats with one hand, with the other she quietly but adroitly closed and locked the door, and transferred the key to the pocket of that nine-penny calico gown—so adroitly was it done, that it was wholly unobserved by the guests; then taking a seat which commanded a view of the entire group, she commenced one of those ordinary conversations which are the universal accompaniments of morning calls. The dark man scrutinized the face of the lady just as we saw him survey that of a gentleman not many weeks ago at a hotel in Boston. The parchment man tried to impale her with his gimlet eyes; but she wasn't a woolen butterfly, and wasn't an admirer of his erudition, and, therefore, somehow, he couldn't succeed in the effort; the glances dropped one at a time from under that firm, truthful, womanly eye, as black glass beads might drop from a string. The round man fidgeted with a mixture of inward experiences; with the tangle of some threads of circumstance which it evidently was his business to begin to untie; his eyes grew larger and rounder at every revolution about the circle, and his breath came with the labored heavings of asthma. At length, in a pause of their hostess' pleasant monologue, for it was that rather than conversation, the overcharged nature found vent, thus—

"Miss Harriet, the object of Mr. Belmaine's call this morning will, I suppose, be very disagreeable to you.—I am very sorry for the necessity—I wish I could have prevented it. But, since it *must* be, I have tried to make it as agreeable as possible by bringing only friends." Saying this, he showed the lady a warrant for searching her house, for the recovery of a runaway slave, owned by Mr. Belmaine, and supposed to have been lodged for some time under Miss Williams's roof.

Miss Harriet examined the warrant and the affidavit of personal appearance with deliberate coolness, then returning them to the slaveholder said, very firmly, but with an air of surprise,

"And pray, sir, why do you bring these papers to *me*?"

"Of course," interposed Deacon Smalley, now speaking with his tongue for the first time since he came into the presence, "of course, your sister is the proper person, madam, being the senior, and therefore the head of the house. Shall we see your sister?"

"Whatever business it is proper for either of us to transact with you, gentlemen, is most proper for me, my sister being an invalid, and unable to see you. Were she standing here, she would put the same question that I have done—What have *I* to do in a matter of this sort?"

"Nothing, madam," replied Mr. Belmaine, very courteously, yet, at the same time, very offensively, "nothing, but to grant cheerfully to our courtesy what the law gives us a right to *demand*—an examination of your premises for the purpose herein stated."

"Permit me to ask, sir, how the law addresses me in this instance of its demand; whether as a woman whose weakness may be taken advantage of by it, or as a freeholder in the land?"

"As a freeholder, certainly, madam," answered the Justice of the Peace. "You are addressed as any man would be, under the same circumstances—the law thus recognizes you, in this connection, by virtue of your ownership of property."

"Certainly, Miss Harriet," chimed in Deacon Sleeper, anxious to say something conciliatory, "you are taxed as a man would be, you know, and the law makes all other demands in the same way."

"Precisely, I am aware. Now listen to me a moment, gentlemen, if you please. Your own admissions shall sit in judgment on what else I say. I am recognized as a freeholder in every detail where obedience to the laws and support of them is concerned, but denied all share in making those laws that control my person and my property. This I hold to be in violation of the very spirit of all our legislation, which gives the right of representation wherever it demands the right of taxation. This idea, gentlemen, you will admit, gave the first impulse to those convulsions from which our national existence resulted. I hold to this fundamental idea. Having, as an acknowledged freeholder, been permitted no part in the enactment of this inhuman, unchristian, anti-republican statute which you are here to enforce, I deny its authority over me, and refuse, absolutely and unqualifiedly, to aid, even tacitly, in its action. This statute is not the expression of the conscience, the heart, or even the head of Massachusetts, but of its paltry manufacturing interests," bending a look on the proprietor that instantly set in motion the rotatory machinery of the eyes, and the asthmatic mechanism of the chest. "In the name of Massachusetts institutions as such; in the name of all that, according to your own admission, Mr. Belmaine, is *national;* in the name of that Christianity which three of us, at least, have solemnly pledged ourselves to live for, and, if need be, die for;" shields and gimlets alike were powerless under that reproving gaze—"in the name of all that makes the sacredness and worth of life, I protest against this Fugitive Slave Law, and deny its authority to control me in a single act. If I gratify your curiosity with regard to the examination of my premises, to which, under the circumstances, I have no objection, it will be simply from courtesy as your entertainer, not in obedience to any legal document which accompanies you."

"Do you mean to say that a person corresponding with this affidavit is *not* to be found on your premises, Miss Williams?" asked Mr. Belmaine, with evident perplexity and alarm.

"I mean to say nothing about it, sir. This is the first question you have honored me with in this connection, since you entered my door, and I infer that you came not to ask questions, but issue commands. Certain it is, gentlemen, if an escaped slave sought refuge from oppression under my roof, no paper that you bear with you to-day, or could bring at any time, would have the slightest effect in abstracting that person. I say this, of course, in the character in which I am recognized by the legislative department—a *woman;* not in that of a *freeholder* which the executive honors me with. This, now, is the only method conceded me, by which I may express my utter abhorrence of this infamous statute. My Heavenly Father in endowing me with conscience and reason presupposes their exercise, in *some* way, for the furtherance of his plans in the world—this is my method. *Gentlemen*, you are at liberty to go where your inclination may guide you." Saying this, the lady, with the first air of parade, in any sense, which she had worn during the interview, took the key from her pocket, and approached the door.

That vague sense of apprehension which cowardly natures always experience in presence of firm moral courage, had produced various contortions of the round man's face; various gyrations of the parchment man's limbs and little body. This mysterious movement of the hostess brought the mental malady unmistakably to the surface. A conviction shot across the contents of the parchment-covered cerebrum that the door was about to *be* locked! that they were to be made prisoners by the astonishing little woman! Wiggling precipitately to that side of the room, each motion jerked as if in resistance of rheumatic rust, or pierced by rheumatic pain, the "Justice of the Peace" ejaculated—

"Miss Williams—Madam—dear Madam!—we are going now—Mr. Belmaine is satisfied—ahem!"

"Certainly, Miss Harriet"—and Deacon Sleeper approached *in his* way, and with the spirit of universal compromise and conciliation in his shaken tone and wrecked smile.

"Gentlemen," said the imperturbable lady, confronting them with a face full of playful sunshine, "I am about to *unlock* the door; you have *been* my prisoners; I give you leave to go where you please."

The Virginian stood apart, contemplating the scene with such emotions as a manlier nature, baffled in a diabolic scheme, and disgusted with his own agents, would be likely to experience. Through the now open doorway, the two Deacons were making rapid progress to the outer egress, glad of escape on any terms, when Mr. Belmaine's authoritative voice arrested them.

"*You* can go, if you please—*I* shall not leave until I have made thorough search for my property."

"You will find every room and closet accessible, gentlemen. The cellar and out-buildings also. You will excuse my not accompanying you, as my domestic duties require attention," said Miss Harriet, with the most cordial of smiles, passing into the kitchen as she spoke, and quietly continuing her occupations.

The search was made. Miss Harriet and her pet kitten, together with a pair of young song-birds belonging to Effie, were the only breathing things to be found. The Virginian was blacker than the storm-cloud, and as full of wrath as he strode out at the front door. The "Justice" seemed, however, to fear him less than an encounter with those serene, womanly eyes. The Proprietor merged all other characters again, for a moment, in that of the enamored widower. Approaching the mistress of the neat, cosy dwelling, which had stood the test in every way of this three-fold investigation,

"Miss Harriet, I hope I have given no offence—my object has been to make this disagreeable visit as—as—as agreeable as possible to *you*. I hope it will not affect our—our—our peculiar relations."

"Deacon Sleeper, accept the assurance from me that I believe you have done the best *you could* under the circumstances. I will add, simply, that as this visit has been wholly intrusive and unwelcome to me, so will any future visit, *from any member of this party*, whatever the object of that visit may be. This is my final answer, sir. I bid you good morning." And she bowed her marriage-offer out with superb dignity, closed and locked the door, and resumed the ample apron and the snatches of song as if nothing had occurred to interrupt her culinary operations that day.

THE LOYAL WOMEN OF THE NATION.

ROCHESTER, April 21, 1863.

DEAR LIBERATOR:

Mrs. E. C. Stanton's call to "the Loyal Women of the Nation" might be a text for a grand sermon or a live editorial. It will rejoice many fearless women at the North, who wish to "send the arrow straight to the mark," and are in earnest to make this in reality a model republic. We must indeed "mount in faith to something beyond" the trivialities and outward strife incident to this war, for it is a war of principles, and freedom is to be conqueror.

From the breaking out of the rebellion until now, during all the war meetings, in all political assemblies and conventions, there has been a dreadful fear of pronouncing the words Slavery and Emancipation. Constitution and Union, which really should stand for Freedom, are uttered easily and repeatedly, but too many, ever keeping sacredly in view wealth and ambition, fear the effect of being ranked with Abolitionists, and so constantly dodge the vital question, which we *must* meet and settle.

Mrs. Child, in her letter to the President, spoke of the power and value of the moral enthusiasm of a people; but what inspires it? Not compacts and Constitutions from which all vital force has been allowed to die out, which have for years been steadily interpreted not only to take away the rights of States, but to rob *men* of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." These Constitutions must have a resurrection of the living soul which our fathers breathed into them. They must comprehend and protect the rights which they were framed to defend and perpetuate. Jurists tell us, Law is founded on Justice; but we know man's laws sometimes become obsolete, or, if not, are so warped and distorted that they reverse the administration for which they were made. To what, then, shall we turn, when our nation is degenerate, besotted, and contending with an internal foe? Why, certainly, to the Fountain of all law, to that law from which all human order is derived, to the essential, the fundamental, the Absolute Justice. It is astonishing to see the idol-worship in this country, the acceptance of the shadow for the substance, the husk for the living kernel, a name for an idea. The number of idolators is surely growing less, but this atheistic externalism has almost wrecked us as a nation. The will and soul of the people, awakened to liberty, can of course vitalize the Constitution of the United States, so that it shall serve the interests of man. We rejoice. Already the awakening has begun; let us continue to arouse them from this fearful infidelity.

I see the Hartford women have been forming a Loyal League; (and what State can need it more?) I am glad they love our country, but I would they were lifted to a recognition of the divine in man, to liberty as a universal principle. They resolve to rebuke traitors. Lowell said, long ago—

"The traitor to humanity is the traitor most accursed"—

and yet how hard a lesson for Americans to learn! Oh, we sorely need to rebuke traitors and treason; there are treasonable acts and utterances coming under our notice in almost every city daily. For instance, in the autumn, or early winter, our Mayor prevented the arrest of a fellow who had insulted and knocked down a colored man in our streets—patting him on the shoulder, and saying he would vouch for his *good behavior!*—so we are credibly informed by an eye-witness, an old citizen. Later in the winter, a well-known business man here, and long resident in Rochester, "most respectably connected," boasted in a public office that he "liked Jeff. Davis's government better than Abe Lincoln's"—and he is not without sympathizers who also publish their shame.

Another instance, of a woman living so far North as this, on the shores of Ontario, I blush to record. A woman, and a public teacher, told a friend she wished she owned Frederick Douglass; she would soon sell him South. Such an expression of pro-slavery bitterness and hate I have not heard for a long time. While there may not be another being in our city to join in such a wish, there is enough treason here to enlist all loyal women in the moral warfare.

Truly yours,

CATHARINE A. F. STEBBINS.

[☞ For another well-written letter from Mrs. Stanton, see our third page.—*Ed. Lib.*]

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

Why did not our Republican Congress, instead of barely issuing an order to our Democratic military command not to do works of supererogation as hounds and kidnappers in the service of Slavery's Confederacy, repeal the Fugitive Slave Law at once? It was but the most miserable mockery to leave that barbarous enactment on our statute-book, and order our Democratic command—a command created by our Republican Administration to conciliate the slavery spirit—not to carry out what they deemed to be the requirements of that law, which they had been taught to look upon as organic, as final, as the "higher law"—as the paramount rule of conduct for all the faithful, who would have "the Union as it was, and the Constitution as it is"—not for the enlargement of freedom, but for the perpetuation of slavery.

But it was the policy of the party control, at the commencement of the Administration, to preserve the Fugitive Slave Law for the conservation of the sovereign institution, with which to carry on party political prostitution. To this end, Abraham Lincoln pledged himself to the delegation from that infamous "Peace Convention," in session at Washington at the time of his inauguration, that he would carry out that law for slavery's benefit as no Southern man could do it. To the same end, Wm. H. Seward—who has furnished the inspiration of this Administration—started in advance his measure in Congress for giving slavery additional constitutional guaranty; and the atrocious work was done—the guaranty was given—so far as Congress could give it. What wonder the talismanic cry of slavery and its sympathizers has all the while through this struggle been "Constitution and Union" and "enforcement of the laws"? What else did slavery need but such a Constitution and Union, and such an enforcement of the laws?

Are we to be told here that this law, embodying and involving more of crime and infamy, if possible, than any other legislative act during our "reign of terror" for the past quarter or third of a century ending in this epoch of blood that is not yet ended, has come to be considered and submitted to as constitutional, organic law? And is this the reason to be rendered in behalf of our Republican Congress, for such delinquency, in such a time as this, with such occasion and opportunity for turning the scale between the grappling hosts of a death-struggle between American Freedom and American Slavery? Is this the view taken by Congress itself? Do these self-styled *Republican* representatives of the people recognize that law as constitutional—organic—final? What, then, is our Republicanism, in contradistinction to our Democracy, as pertaining to any thing vital between American Freedom and American Slavery? And what is our boasted Constitution? And what our Government, that has been clamored for as the best the sun has shone on?

If our modern Republicanism means as much by implication as that the Fugitive Slave Law is a barbarity, constitutional or unconstitutional—if it means more and better than our modern Democracy, which makes "Constitution and Union," and "enforcement of the laws," to signify devotion to the supremacy and perpetuity of American slavery—if it means doing something, as there is opportunity, for American freedom, for human freedom, for right and righteousness, to the benefit of the present and coming generations—when has there been, when will there be, another like occasion and opportunity to do such an act for the right in the demolishment of the wrong?

But for this delinquency of the late Congress, in this failure to know its epoch and embrace its opportunity, such friends of freedom as the New York *Tribune* might have been spared such humiliation to themselves and party as that paper fell into, on the 16th of March, in its concessions to slavery, as to its legitimate powers for recuperation, under the operations of the Union as it was, the Constitution as it is, and the enforcement of this atrocious law, impliedly conceded by the *Tribune* to be constitutional. Does the *Tribune* consider it an atrocious law—villainous and iniquitous in its enactment—barbarous and brutal in its enforcement? Then does the *Tribune* consider this law constitutional—fitly final? Then what is the Constitution?

The Constitution being thus, and the statute being so, what is the remedy? The "*regular*" remedy is the legitimate exercise of legislative and executive power derived from the people. Are we to be told here that the people have not yet been ready for such exercise of power, in the abrogation of that barbarous and barbarizing enactment? They who originate and instigate this pretension know better. It is not the people who say any such thing for themselves; and if it was, and they did, it would be because they had been blinded by false guides. But it is falsely spoken for the people by the corrupt and corrupting, the bribed and bribing politicians. The saying is a trick, invented by the rascally political leaders, to justify themselves in leading the people backward, when they should be leading them forward. It is one with the villainous cry of a corrupt clergy, that the people prefer superstition to science—slavery to freedom.

Just as the soldiers are better than their commanders, so the citizens are better than their leaders, in Church and in State. When Fremont and Hunter were modified, it was not because the people were not ready for their measures—it was because of the unreadiness of a corrupt Executive, surrounded by corrupt aspirants. The plea that the people were not ready was set up afterward, in justification of executive delinquency. As well might it be said in justification of the delinquency of Scott, McClellan and Halleck, that the soldiers were not ready for more active and earnest measures than these slavery-sympathizing commanders would permit. We were told that the soldiers under McClellan would throw down their arms the moment he should be superseded by a man of less sympathy with slavery. But the facts proved this to be a falsehood and slander, manufactured by McClellan himself, to impose upon the soldiers the responsibility of his own dereliction. So of our Government—legislative and executive—and the people, as to readiness for active, effective proceedings against slavery, the common enemy of the people, the country and mankind. These who force themselves and each other forward, and foist themselves and each other into position, are the defenders of slavery against the assaults the people would make upon it.

The Republicans have had their opportunity for better doing, and have neglected to use it. Let them not think to shift their responsibilities upon the Democrats. The Democrats have sins enough of their own. As for the Fugitive Slave Law, if a Democratic Congress enacted the barbarity, a Republican Congress, with power to abrogate it, has sanctioned it, and as far as possible made it a finality; and has done what it could, in its infamous Seward-Corwin enactment, to make an upper to be used with this nether millstone for grinding out humanity.

ORSON S. MURRAY.

Foster's Crossings, Warren Co., O., April 7, 1863.

P. S. The papers announce that the Connecticut and other elections have secured a majority for the Union in the next Congressional House of Representatives. See if it does not turn out to be a *Union* for the perpetuation of such Presidential and Congressional performances as produce results like the following, reported of in one of the same papers announcing with exultation the turn of these late elections:—

THE LAND OF PRESIDENTIAL PROMISE.

The following paragraph, (says the Cincinnati *Gazette,*) which we find in the advertising columns of the Frankfort *Commonwealth*, among many others as pregnant with human history, is the little story of the pilgrimage of a man and woman in search of the freedom and protection promised by the President's great Gospel of Freedom. From Tishamingo county, Mississippi, across Tennessee, through the great rebel army, this couple had journeyed, guided by the Emancipation Proclamation—their pillar of cloud by day and pillar of fire by night—till they reached the promised land occupied by our military forces. But the story is told so much better in the *Commonwealth*, that we shall not attempt to paint the lily:—

"NOTICE. There are committed to the Jefferson County Jail, as runaway slaves, a negro man named ELI, and a woman named SALLY, who is about thirty years of age, black color, heavy set, stout and well made, weighing 130 pounds. The man, Eli, is about 23 years of age, 5 feet 9½ inches high, weighing 160 pounds, dark copper color, thin whiskers and moustache, slow-spoken and monotone, round full face and high forehead. Both say they belong to Joseph Bynum, of Tishamingo county, Mississippi.

"The owner can come forward, prove property, and pay charges, or they will be dealt with as the law requires." W. K. THOMAS, J. J. C.

"March 6, 1863."

The previous number of the *Gazette* had the following:—

"THE KENTUCKY TRADE.

"In a large batch of negroes advertised in the Frankfort *Commonwealth*, as taken up and put in jail as runaways, to be sold as the law directs, among whom are many of those to whom the President has proclaimed freedom, and promised the protection of the military and naval authorities of the United States, but who are taken under the noses of the military authorities, and many of them driven by military authority out of its protection, and put into Kentucky jails to be made into slaves for Kentucky profit—among these we notice the following, who claim to be free, but who, as they say in Kentucky, have nothing to prove it. We publish them, that if this reaches the eye of their friends, they may know their fate:—

"There was committed to the jail of Bracken county, as a runaway slave, on the 16th of September, 1862, a negro man named JOSEPH BROOKING. He is about 23 years of age, copper color, 5 feet 10 inches high, weighing about 150 pounds. Said boy claims to be free, but has no free papers; says that he has escaped from the jail of Mason county, and that he came from Brownsville, Pennsylvania.

"The owner can come forward, prove property and pay charges, or he will be dealt with as the law requires. WM. MARSHALL, J. B. C.

"March 24th, 1863—1m."

"There was committed to the jail of Bracken county, as a runaway slave, on the 28th of November, 1862, a negro man who calls himself GEORGE REVLEY, alias George Merritt. He is about 24 years of age, 5 feet 7 or 8 inches high, copper color. He had on a suit of military clothes. He claims to be free, and says he was a waiter to an officer in an Illinois regiment at Mt. Sterling.

"The owner can come forward, prove property, and pay charges, or he will be dealt with as the law requires. WM. MARSHALL, J. B. C.

"March 24th, 1863—1m."

"There is committed to the Jefferson county jail, as a runaway slave, a negro boy calling himself JEWELL. He is about 14 years of age, black or dark brown skin, medium size, weighing 100 pounds; a likely and smart boy. He claims to be free.

"The owner can come forward, prove property and pay charges, or he will be dealt with as the law directs. W. K. THOMAS, J. J. C.

"March 6, 1863—1m."

"There was committed to the jail of Warren county, as a runaway slave, on the 29th of September, 1862, a negro man calling himself JO. MINER. He says he is free, but has nothing to show to establish the fact. He is about 35 years of age, very dark copper color, about 5 feet 8 inches high, and will weigh about 150 pounds.

"The owner can come forward, prove property and pay charges, or he will be dealt with as the law requires. R. J. POTTER, J. W. C.

"March 16, 1863—1m."

In the *Gazette* for April 8 is still another, in which another of Bynum's slaves is advertised and described as "a negro girl calling herself Eliza. She is about 18 years of age, bright mulatto, medium size, blue eyes, quite likely and intelligent." This is accompanied by a letter to the *Gazette*, from Rev. John H. Aughey, dated at the Burnet House, in which, among other things, he says:—"I know Eli and Sally [the first-described slaves above] well. They attended my church in Rienzi, Miss., and were regarded by their master as industrious and faithful servants. Col. Bynum, their owner, is a cruel and tyrannical master, and a member of the church. He was an original secessionist, and three of his sons are in the 2d Regiment Mississippi Volunteers, and have fought in all the battles against their country from Manassas to Fredericksburg." The *Gazette* says, in connection with this third advertisement of this kind—"And this insult to the President's Emancipation Proclamation, and outrage upon the moral sense of every earnest supporter of the Government and *every* loyal soldier, is permitted in the presence of our military authority, and the traffic has been aided by its management."

Such is our "Constitution"—such our "Union"—such our "enforcement of the laws." It is all legitimate. With such a system of slavery as ours at the foundation, what other superstructure could have been built? Our slavery has always been the controlling element in our Government, up to the present hour. It was made the chief corner-stone in our *Republican* structure. The work of our present *Republican* Administration has been to prevent a "change of" this "base"—to preserve this foundation intact.

A friend at my elbow suggests that the "changing of base" is generally deemed a costly business. Better look at the cost of maintaining a base resting on such an abyss as our slavery. It does appear to me that a change, securing rest on the rock of freedom, would be a saving, and *not* a costly business. How many more hundreds of thousands of lives of our producing classes—how many more thousands of millions of dollars of their production—will satiate the greed of consumers, the lust of aspirants for place and power? O. S. M.

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